VOL. 5 FEBRUARY 1942 NO. 4

THE JOURNAL OF THE SINDH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITED BY

N. M. BILLIMORIA
AND
A. B. ADVANI

Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

VOL. V. FEBRUARY 1942. No. 4.

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KARACHI.
THE DAILY GAZETTE PRESS

پاران ايم ايڇ پنهور انسٽيٽيوٽ آف سنڌ اسٽڊيز، ڄامشورو.
Digitized by M. H. Panhwar Institute of Sindh Studies, Jamshoro.

JOURNAL, SIND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Vol. V. No. 4.

February, 1942.

CONTENTS. Pages.

Some observations on Baloch Poetry of the Sind Border by H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S. .. .. .. 173—193

Prof. Hodivala's comments on Tarikh-i-Tahiri .. 194—203

Index to Annual Archaeological Reports for 1902-1929, subjects relating to Sind .. .. .. 204—218

Nicholas Withington's route between Nagar Parkar and Tatta in 1613-14, by B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. .. 219—223

Some references to Sind in a Chinese Work of the 13th Century by B. D. Mirchandani, I.C.S. .. 224—228

Was Akbar literate ? by N. M. Billimoria .. 229—232

Post Office in Sind ; its early History by "Zaarrin Qulam" .. .. .. 233—236

Illustrated by a version in English, with critical notes, of the heroic ballad of Naffusk.

By H. T. Lambrick, I.C.S.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on the 28th May*, 1941.)

Longworth Dames' "Popular Poetry of the Balochis" contains the fruit of many years' gathering, in inquiry and study by an authority, whose knowledge of the subject, and of Baloch tribal history and sociology, is not likely ever to be equalled in depth or extent. Yet in one respect the collection must be deemed deficient. The "more recent war-ballads," which form the second category in Dames' classification, and which he notes as "mainly accounts of inter-tribal wars during the past hundred and fifty years" (he writes about 1900) are drawn almost exclusively from among the tribes which inhabit the Derajat.

This seems to have been due mainly to the accident that Dames' service as a District Officer began in Dera Ghazi Khan—it is noted of many of these poems that they were recorded by him there in the '70's—and he does not seem ever to have acquired an equal knowledge of the Baloch tribes of Kachhi and the Sind Border Country. His selection was evidently not confined to the former area on the ground of the superior intrinsic merit of the poetry associated with it, for he speaks disparagingly of the obscurity, tediousness, and copious admixture of non-Baloch words in several of the ballads he includes.

The only poems of this "later war ballad" class in Dames' book originating among other than Derajat tribes come from their immediate neighbours in the Suleiman Hills: one records a fight between the Bugtis and the Drishaks, and another, a raid by the Marris on the Musa Khel Pathans. There is only one poem in this collection concerned with events which seem to have taken place towards the Sind border of Balochistan.

Considering the number and importance of the Baloch tribes located in Kachhi and Upper Sind, it is hardly to be supposed that their feuds should not have been chronicled in heroic verse by their bards. Many such ballads do in fact exist: but there is a much stronger ground for holding the group of "later war ballads and other tribal poems" given by Dames, to be insufficiently representative of Baloch poetry of the period.

By a coincidence, only the three individual lays already mentioned can definitely be held to have been composed in the nineteenth century, apart from the two ballads on Sandeman's expedition and the elegy on the death of Nawab Jamal Khan. The Bugti-Drishak fight, and that between the Mazaris and the Brahuis, seem to have taken place at the beginning of the century. But the fifty years, or thereabouts, which followed, up till Sandeman's march in 1867 are represented only by a single ballad, dealing with a petty and unsuccessful raid.*

Now let us consider what was going forward in Balochistan during these fifty years, for which Dames has produced a single ballad, not altogether devoid of intrinsic merit, but recording an unimportant and uninteresting foray.

Is it conceivable that Baloch bards, who could draw inspiration from such affairs, failed to celebrate worthily the events which made this half century the most stirring period in the whole history of their race, since the golden age of Mir Chakar? Could they have neglected the novel and heroic theme of their collisions with the British power?

Did no poet sing of Jaro and Darya Khan, the Jakhrani horsemen whose swords reaped a harvest of loot from the clumsy columns of the Company's Army, in the days when Bijar Khan Dombki contemptuously refused to enter service with the Faringhi with a monthly salary of three thousand rupees? When Amiel's Pathans were routed, and the Sind Horse foiled in the quicksands of Uch? True, fortune is fickle: Walpole Clarke rides down the tribesmen in the Tegaf valley, and the old fox Bijar surrenders when Billamore stops the earths of the hill country. Released, he returns to Phulaji, and now serves the Sarkar faithfully, even in the days when its *Iqbal* seems to sink under the clouds of Kabul. But Jacob's strong hand, that held him fast, is removed for a while: the Jemadar of Guides once more becomes the Robber Baron, and sends fire and sword into Sind. His men sack Kambar under the eyes of the "Shutar Sowars," the Bengal Cavalry flee before them, the Faringhis who come to storm Phulaji go back in disgrace.

*This event appears, from internal evidence, to have occurred in the '50's, when Nur Mahomed was the Marri Tumandar. This is to be inferred from the sarcastic lines "let the leadership of the tribe break into pieces and depart!—it does not belong to a woolly sheep!" Sardar Nur Mahomed was of a retiring disposition, a "fakir" unsuited for ruling so turbulent a tribe. After a few years he was held to have lost his reason and was deposed.

Napier rouses himself, thirsting for Bijar's blood: yet, when he has him in his power, he relents, and hands the Chief over to Mir Ali Murad. So Bijar Khan dies at Khairpur, and his old comrades in arms, settled at Janidero, beat their swords into reaping hooks, under the magic influence of Jacob.

Nay, the twenty years immediately before the appearance of the Feringhi in the land make a prelude crowded with romantic incident: the stage is already held by figures whose names were to find in the printed page of the English a fame far wider than their household minstrel's proudest boast.

Here is Wali Mahomed the Chandia Tumandar, who helped the Talpurs to their throne; who has defeated all his neighbours; the Magsis, his bitter rivals, and the Marris (1) and Khidrani Brahuis in their own hills. To him at Ghaibidero rides young Ahmed Khan Magsi, at night, alone (2). The Rinds in overwhelming numbers threaten to exterminate his tribe. He has come to absolve the Chandia Sardar of his father's blood, and craves his alliance. Wali Mahomed recalls how years before, in the days of Mir Nasir Khan, Sobha Chandio fell by the side of the Magsi Chief Bhut at Shoran, under the swords of the Rinds. Generously he forgets the later feuds, and marches with Ahmed Khan; the tide is turned and the Rinds are beaten: they renew the attack with overwhelming numbers: seven thousand, led by Sardar Khan and his brother Sher Mahomed, meet less than two thousand Magsis and Chandias. That day is remembered as "Sher Mahomed Rosh." (3). Seven hundred Rinds are slain, and only eighteen on the other side, among the water channels of Bhunga, in sight of the walls of Jhal. The Magsis proceed to the attack of Shoran: the Khan himself applauds the chastisement of Rind arrogance, and their Sardar seeks safety in Sind.

What of the Bugtis? The Sikhs, who took Multan in 1818 have penetrated southward along the Indus. The Governor of the Khan of Kalat in Harrand Dajil, Syed Mahomed Sharif, betrays the country into the hands of the unbeliever. The Sikhs stir up the Mazaris against their ancient foes, the Bugtis, and march with them into the hills. But Bibarak Khan routs them at Drinak, and the Khalsa kettle drums are hung in the

(1) These are probably the inferior tribe of this name inhabiting the Khirthar hills.

(2) Masson, Vol. II.

(3) Kachhi Gazeteer: Masson, Vol. II.

inviolable shrine of Pir Sohri. Again the Mazaris invade, but are worsted, and the long jezail that bears the name of Mir Bahram is added to the trophies at Bibarak Dera (4).

Meanwhile the Kalpar section of the tribe takes to plundering in Kachhi. Mehrab Khan of Kelat determines to assert his authority by force of arms, and marches six thousand Brahuis into the hills. With them are Dombkis, and Turk Ali Jakhrani. Bibarak Khan sends his Begum to the camp to ask for terms (1). She is told that in acknowledgment of this sign of submission, the Brahuis will marry the Bugti women instead of enslaving them. Bibarak retires to the hills above Marava. Slave or free, the women of the Zarkani shall never sit in Brahui houses.

They are placed in a sangar on the edge of a precipice, and to each is given a knife. Their husbands and sons and fathers are to fight for them before their eyes, and if the tribe is broken they must not survive. But there may be those among them who will hesitate to strike home. Four old men with drawn swords are posted to slay the faint hearted, and throw their bodies over the cliff. Now the Brahui host is coming up the Siahan incline, between two ravines. In the narrowest place the Bugtis have built a sangar, where matchlockmen are stationed. The swordsmen massed behind them are strictly ordered not to charge before the enemy shall have advanced within the range of stones which they have piled up as missiles. But Bahram Mundrani and another hero brook no restraint, and rush sword in hand upon the foe. Their comrades pour after them: the foremost Brahuis turn to fly, but those behind are pressing on. The weight of numbers is their destruction on such confined ground. The whole mass is thrown into confusion: on either hand the ravines hem them in: they begin to stream backward down the hill in utter rout. The pursuit and slaughter continues down to Marwar in the Siahaf valley. That day, it is said, Brahuis were seen to kneel down with grass in their mouths: they were as sheep and oxen before the Bugti warriors, the victors of Siahan! (2)

(4) Note: This is the story as told me by the Bugtis. The "Annals of the Mazaris" (Longworth Dames) and "The Mazaris of Sind" (Mahomed Yasin) give a different version.

(1) Sibi Gazeteer.

(2) This signal of submission was also resorted to by races inhabiting the countries to the eastward: See Tod's "Rajasthan."

The Kalpars turn to harrying the Buledhis, once the lords of the hill country, but now settled in Upper Sind under the rule of Khairpur.

Mir Sohrab Khan vows that the men of the plains shall carry off an even greater booty from the hills, and sends six thousand men under Gole Shah Khyheri. Jalal Khan Dombki, Turk Ali Jakhrani, and Masti Khan Marri march with the Mir's lashkar. Bibarak ensconces himself in the stronghold of Traki, and plays for time by negotiations. The Khairpur army, camped at their ease in Siahaf, are lulled into a false security—success seems certain. Suddenly the Bugtis launch an impetuous attack: the Mir's forces are broken: several chiefs are among those left dead on the field, and Gole Shah, escaping with the loss of an arm, flies back to Sind with the discomfited survivors. (1)

Now the British make their appearance, and Bibarak's star begins to wane. Major Billamore puts an end to the Bugti boast, that even God could not touch their Khan in Dera: the Chief is haled before the Great Saheb, (2) and is immured in the island fortress of Bukkur: yet fortune smiles again, and he is allowed to end his days in the halls of his fathers, his tribe still unsubdued. Islam Khan, whom he had ever refused to summon into Sukkur at the behest of his captors, succeeds to the "Pag": secure in his hills he sees the new Faringhi General conquer Sind. Soon comes Shaitan-ka-Bhai northwards, with an army ten times as numerous as Billamore's. The Chief bows before the storm—he will not resist, neither will he surrender. He finds asylum with Mir Haji Khetran, and the General departs perforce, but ill-contented with a lesser prey. Ere long comes the opportunity for revenge, and the Bugtis plunder almost up to the walls of Shikarpur: 10,000 cattle are driven before them back to the hills. The Feringi Rasala follows them, and the tribesmen prepare to fight a rear guard action at Hudu. But the Company's men only stand looking at them. A single Bugti is killed by a long-range matchlock ball. Then the pursuers turn their horses' heads towards Sind, and the hills resound with Baloch laughter.

But soon there is talk of another Saheb, another Rissala, another *bandobast* at Khangarh. The *rahzans* who ride into the plains do not return. The harvest has failed in Siahaf and

(1) "Dry Leaves from Young Egypt."

(2) Mr. Ross Bell, Political Agent Upper Sind. See "Dry Leaves."

Marava, but is abundant in Sind and Kachhi. Every man who can wield a sword must go: the hated Khyheris, the spies of the British, shall supply the granaries of Dera. Who could have foreseen the disaster of Ambu's day, when they fell like corn under the sickle at Zamani, where Merewether rode like Azrail? The young men gave up their lives, but held fast the honour of their tribe, even though its power is broken.

But Jekam is not satisfied: he plans to take the Chief prisoner. Islam Khan swears that if he must surrender, it shall not be to him. He rides to Kashmor to Rassaldar Alif Khan, who brings him before Major Goldney. And so the exile at Mahmud Dero begins. By the muddy waters of the Ghar the Chief sighs for sparkling Siahaf: after the air of Pir Koh he cannot breathe the stifling heat of the Sind bazars. Alif Khan whispers that the British intend to turn the Bugti captives into sepoys, drill them and send them to fight the men of Kandahar. (1) And Ghulam Murtaza sends word that the remnant of the tribe is being overwhelmed by the Marris and Mazaris: his father must return, and he is willing to take his place(2).

And so the Chief steals away, with valiant Alim Khan Kalpar: even the sleepless Jacob is outwitted, and finds his work undone: the Kalpar Sardar rides again.

Yet the success of old days evades Alim Khan: the stern horsemen of Hindustan baffle him at every point. Islam Khan learns the lessons of adversity. Half of his best men are still in Sind, with his Begum, Mai Mahindi: how can he resist the Marris and Mazaris with but half a tribe ? The women murmur, and Jacob's voice is heard "The Sarkar is generous; but you must submit to it, and obey my orders." Islam Khan makes overtures through the Khan's Wazir; Baloch Khan Dombki, who has prospered by friendship with the British, will be his *zamin.* All three wait upon Jacob at Khangarh, and the Bugti Chief makes his peace: his wife and the men settled at Mahmud Dero are allowed to return to him, and Alim Khan, the prince of freebooters, is persuaded to take service with the Faringi !

And so prosperity returns to the hills, and the tribe regains its strength: though they raid no more into Sind, they will tolerate no insults from their neighbours. Witness the day of Chambari, when eighty mares, and the arms of one hundred and thirty Marris, left dead on the Sham plain, were added to

(1) Information received from Wadero Jumo Khan Bugti.

(2) Record Book of the Sind Irregular Horse, Vol. I.

a booty of fifteen thousand head of cattle! All Balochistan owns that the pattern of strength and bravery is Ghulam Murtaza Khan.

In forty years, what People have experienced more dramatic vicissitudes?

Here was a rich field for the labours of Baloch bards; but if the blood of heroes, the prizes of valour, be their argument, what of the day when one tribe measured its strength against the Sarcar:—the Company Bahadur in full force of infantry, horsemen and artillery:—and prevailed? When the spoil was not a parcel of sheep or goats, but cannon; chests of silver: tents; horses, camels and pack-bullocks; small arms, gunpowder, and ammunition; all the panoply of the regular troops of the Faringi, defeated at Naffusk?

To celebrate such a truiumph, a poet was not wanting; indeed, two have claimed the authorship of the stirring verses which have survived, transmitted from mouth to mouth for a hundred years, to find now, as I believe for the first time, the wider currency that print can give.

The first mention of a Baloch poem on the battle of Naffusk occurs in a letter from Captain French, Assistant Political Agent, Sibi, at the time, to C. R. Williams, whose brother was killed in the action:—"I was on outpost duty at Lehree, in Cutchee, near the Murree Hills soon after the defeat of Major Clibborn's force, and frequently had the wandering bards of the country to chaunt of an evening their historical ballads. They extemporized and introduced the names of those who fell at Naffoosk and Surtoof, and with great praise of their gallantry." This letter is quoted in "The Defence of Kahun" by C. R. Williams: and those who wish to know why the British fought the Marri tribe cannot do better than read this little book: but, in view of the fact that it is scarce, I may be permitted to refer them to an article in the Society's journal for May 1936, entitled "The Marri Rising, 1840."

But here we are concerned with the other side of the medal: let us lay aside for awhile the Report of the Clibborn Commission, and "Kahun" Brown's journal, and E. B. Eastwick, and the Regimental Histories:—and let Meski son of Haren, Ramezai Bugti, take up the tale.

A Baloch Ballad is always prefixed by a few phrases in prose, giving the name of its author, and the subject of the poem. These are sung by the minstrel on the key note of the chant to which the ballad itself is to be recited.

The version which I have attempted to translate is the fullest and best of three which I have obtained, and was taken down from the lips of an aged bard in Upper Sind Frontier District. The late Tumandar of the Bugti tribe and his cousin, the late Sardar Islam Khan, gave me great assistance in writing it out, as the bard recited line by line, and were able to correct him here and there. They assured me that the result is the authentic poem, with which they had long been acquainted.

A shorter version, containing many of the same lines, is ascribed to one Jam Khudadad, but is considered plagiaristic.

Meski son of Heren sings: of the battle of Naffusk he sings: of the victory of the Marris over the unbelievers he sings.

I call to mind God, the maker of the earth; the beauteous Prophet, with the blessed rider: the generous Suhri comes to the help of all.

Fiery Dost Mahomed with his green-flashing blade, routed Shah Shuja from Kandahar. He went to Calcutta, bag and baggage, and immediately complained to the Sahebs. The countless army of the Company was set in motion: who can withstand the 'Sahibs' order? A Crore of men were assembled, lakhs added to thousands; the far-smiting musketeers could not be reckoned for number, with helmets on their heads, and feet shod with shoes; and thousands of horses were caparisoned for war.

They crossed the river, and came over to this side: the world, deceived, was taken to be shared out as spoil. A thousand praises to that Turk's son, generous Mehrab, the sword-wielder, who bound men to resistance in the game of war! He did not deliver his city into the hands of the white men, but gave his life in defence of his women-folk. Nasir Khan, thou art like a rose in a rich garden; thy name and fame spread all

around, to far-off Delhi and verdant Kandahar: that thou mayest sit in thy country and ancestral lands, may Kelat be granted to thee for thy whole life!

Noble Bijar, and the lion-like Bibarak Khan cherished hope, and waited on the Saheb. They were imprisoned for a year, across the River.

Khans and Sardars were affrighted: they went to the white rulers with folded hands; taking rewards and pensions, they returned home pleased at heart.

The storm clouds burst over the land of Siahaf, and floods came down to Chattar and the gates of Lahri. A thousand praises to the Marris of Kahan, the Balochis that stood firm in the land of the Prophet! Doda Marri sent back this reply: "neither will I be tributary, nor will I sit among the unbelievers: I will thrash their heads and skulls with the sword!"

This news soon spread about the land; the foreigners' horsemen were made ready, and the cruel tribe of unbelievers mounted. With them were thousands of blacksmiths and syces; two lakhs of camels and a lakh of soldiers; men and beasts of burden of every sort together. They did not invoke God's name, that he should bring them to Kahan, nor did the unbelievers think of war or battle. But we called to our Pir, that he should save us, and prepared to give battle at the pass of Naffusk.

The foreigners' kafila of camels wended its slow way: they went for two calls' distance and took their ease. They set up their engines of war and cannon and tents, drinking wine and fierce intoxicants. The cowards were spitting at the skies; the unbelievers made a thousand boasts—"we shall capture the Sardar of Kahan and make him our vassal."

The Marris girt on their Indian sword-belts, over their lordly silken robes, and swore to devote their heads to death. First rode Din Mahomed on his hawk-swift filly: the whole of the Gazanis were with the Khan. Karam Khan came, the Sherani wise in council: Haibat Khan roared like a tiger "I shall smite their kafila, and loot their treasure, strike off their heads, and cut out their tongues: the cowards shall go back feeding on their shame."

The night gave place to day as the dawn appeared, and the Marris began the fight with the foreigners: the deadly muskets and cannon roared out. As the morning drew on towards noon, the bold men of the foreigners gave up hope of an easy victory. They decided to charge, and came clambering up the hill; a precipice fell upon their heads; from the summit it rolled them down the slope. The world quivered at the cannon's voice; the ground was hidden by the smoke of the musketry: but the tigers of the hills swept and drove them back! Their leaders fell back on to the level plain, and considered where to take up their position: the guns that had failed once more roared out again, flashing forth amid hot smoke. The Marris divided their front into two columns; Karam Khan fell with eighty four men. Mura Khan passed through the cannon's thunder bolts; Qatal escapes the death-dealing guns; The Merciful One preserved them in his strength. They will drink the cups of God's grace with the Friends. There, where the Lord's drums sounded, the unbelievers fell, removed from his Presence.

There, too, fell as martyrs youths of high descent: in a moment four-score were wedded to death. I know not the name of all the heroes. The lordly Haibat, with his mare, beyond price; Mura Khan, the most beauteous of his generation: Lion-like Shahali, a paragon of strength and swiftness, with shining blade, handed down from his ancestors—the sword-cuts on the cannon are his witnesses!

Where was Lunar, the stalwart of the Muhammedanis, who ate his lawful produce on the high hills? The good Jarwars, with Mir Shahali, went as one man among the swords! They have sat down in Paradise before the Prophet: but the foreigners lay scattered, one upon the other: the Marris trod them under with their swords, and the bodies of the unbelievers lie like reaped *karbi*. For two years the hyenas of the ravines were filled, and the ravenous kites and vultures of the sky: the door was thrown open to the hungry, and many obscure animals waxed fat upon them.

Generous Doda, valiant Sardar! Ali came to thy aid with his holy power. In this battle that was joined with the unbelievers, the Marris won by stroke of sword. Do not then make plans to fight with us; the Quran is between us, and Sohri on his chestnut horse. As two brothers we have sat next to each other—do not come treacherously across our border! You have wielded your swords with your own

hearts' strength: the peoples near and far are thankful. Holy Ali gave you the victory, and all should repeat the "kalima" of the Prophet.

NOTES

Lines 1, 2, 3. A Baloch heroic poem always opens with an invocation of this kind. The "Blessed Rider" is the Prophet Ali, who had a famous mare, Dul-Dul. Ali is held in particular veneration by the Balochis: they consider themselves to descend from Mir Hamza, who was Ali's uncle.

The mention of Pir Sohri, the saint of the Bugti hill country, naturally follows, as the bard is a Bugti.

Lines 4 *to* 7. The poet alludes to Shah Shuja's defeat in his expedition to regain his lost throne in the year 1834. The British did not in fact decide to restore him till 1838.

Lines 8 *and* 9. E. B. Eastwick gives us a specimen of the Balochis' habitual exaggeration of numbers, in assuming "three lakhs" as the total of the Army of the Indus which marched to restore Shah Shuja. It was in fact about 25,000 strong; but five times that number of followers accompanied it.

Lines 15 *to* 25. The attack of the British on Mehrab Khan and the storming of Kalat were, in reality, unjust, as it was not the Khan but his treacherous Wazir who had directed hostilities against the army in the Bolan pass. This passage shows that the poem was written before the autumn of 1841, when the British Government attempted to repair some of the injury they had inflicted, by recognizing Mir Nasir Khan, son of Mehrab, as Khan, in place of Shah Nawaz, whom they had elevated to the masnad.

Lines 26—28. The poet naturally makes no mention of the fact that the authorities in Upper Sind had made friendly advances to Bijar, and offered him a substantial consideration if he would refrain from harassing them, in vain. His surrender, after Major Billamore's force had more than once cut up his men, and made his position untenable, was unconditional.

Bibarak Khan, the Bugti Tumandar, had not personally engaged in hostilities against the British—but his tribe had done so.

Lines 37—40. Doda Khan, the Marri Tumandar, in fact wished to avoid having anything to do with the British. When first invited to pay his respects to the political Agent he avoided doing so on the score of old age. But he put no obstacles in the way of the Column of Billamore's force which marched to Kahan, and seems to have done his best then, and thereafter, to restrain his unruly clans. When the bolder spirits of the tribe annihilated Walpole Clarke's detachment he said, "There you go, selling your country for a few camels"—and his conduct to Lewis Brown left nothing to be desired.

It will be observed that the poet says nothing of the presence, for over three months, of a British Force in the Marris' capital.

Line 44. Again poetic exaggeration. Clibborn's relieving column numbered about 1,000 fighting men, with 1,100 camels and 600 pack-bullocks.

Line 52. The progress of the British Force was in fact very slow. They had great difficulty in finding water for men and animals, and the latter were so exhausted that the steep ascent of Sartaf took many hours.

Line 61. Sardar Din Mahomed was son of Doda Khan, and apparently directed the defence of the Naffusk Pass. Doda Khan himself sat under a *khabar* tree in a sheltered place in the pass, from which he could see the fight.

Lines 68—84. The description of the engagement accords with the British version. Vide—a private letter of Lieutenant Fanning, quoted in the Defence of Kahun" by Williams, and Clibborn's official report, reproduced in "the Marri Rising," by the present author.

Lines 85—102. The eulogies of individual heroes are a regular feature of Baloch (and most other) war ballads. Karam Khan and Haibat Khan are both mentioned by Brown in his Kahan Journal. Eastwick mentions a "most distinguished chief" who "actually thrust his shield against the mouth of a gun as it was about to be fired, and was blown away from it."

I was informed by the late Sardar Islam Khan Bugti that this hero's name was Tota Sherani, who thrust his "guri" or coat into the muzzle of the gun. He also told me that Shahali, who is mentioned as having left sword-cuts on the gun

(they are still visible) killed an artillery man with an axe just as he was firing.

Lines 106—107. Captain Brown states, in a note to his journal, that he managed to have the dead of the British force, over whose bodies he had to pick his way down the pass of Nuffusk, buried by Mundu Khan Dombki and some of the Marris who took part in the fight. This seems to have been in January, 1841 (*vide* Postans' account of affairs in Upper Sind and Kachhi in 1839—1841). The Marris themselves honoured their opponents for the dauntless courage they showed in the fight, and Din Mahomed returned the sword of Ensign Williams, who was killed among the foremost, with an encomium on his bravery.

Line 115. The poet is a Bugti: the two tribes were and are great rivals, but on this occasion the Bugtis could not but be delighted by their neighbours' triumph over the Faringi, from whom they had suffered themselves severally a few months before.

Line 116. The shrine of Pir Sohri is on the hill (Pir Koh) which divides the Bugti from the Marri country. Red is the colour associated with Sohri, who is thus represented as riding a chestnut horse.

1. Illahi yad kharan kar dighara
2. Nabi sohanrava gon sagh zawara
3. Sakhi Suhri madaten harkasara.
4. Jaren Dost Mahomed wa savzen saghara
5. Sijawal thelithi zha Qandhara;
6. Shutha dan Kalkate gon lad wa bara
7. Shitabi danh dathi Sahebara.
8. Charitha urd Kampani be-shumara;
9. Hukum Sahave sahen khyara?
10. Karor melithant, lakh gon hazara,
11. Niya jagh janokhen tupakara
12. Sarena hol, jhala phazguzara,
13. Hazaren markhavo poshezghara.
14. Darya langho khutha gwast zha para
15. Jahan pharampto giptia pa bahara.
16. Hazar shahbashen ba Turk bachwara
17. Sakhi Mehrab mian wa zualifqara
18. Muhada bastaghanti jang dahara!
19. Na dathi shahar pa dasta sahevara,

Sire dathi pa lajane guzara.
Nasir Khan gulen chun bagh wa bahara
Thai namuz wa nam chodahara
Mozhen Dilhi dan baghen Qandhara,
Ba ninde phiruke zezo dawara
Qalat bashken thara sare jamara!
Wali Bijar wa Bibrak Han mazara
Kutha liai milithant sahevara
Nazarband bithaghant sale dan para.
Mudama, Han, sardar jhaktagiya
Shutha dan hakima dast bastaghiya;
Inam wa wajibian giptaghiya
Phadha hand gartaghan wazh diliya.
Samenan gware Siahaf zamina
Buna Chhattra dan Lahria giliya;
Hazar shahbashen Kahane Maria
Baloch oshtataghant peghambaria.
Jawab tharetagha Doda Maria
"Nawan ail wa na nindan Qafiriya
Na ziran shahadaghen zar bahria
Sara katanu zaham koparia."
Hame ahwal shuthaghant pa guzari
Jahude ghorava bitha tiari;
Charitha Qafire qom quhari,
Hazar gone lohar wa gahi,
Du lakhe lerav wa lakh sipahi,
Hamon sahedar gone ba khudahi;
Khuda nyama niarath Kahan dahi
Na sujhi Qafira jang wa lirahi.
Manan Pir gwankh da Shah bhirahi
Naffusk khandaghe kiti lirahi.
Faringi sath karwane bihana,
Du gwankh mizila velho girana;
Jazar, top, tambuan janana,
Sharab wa zalimen kefan warana,
Laghor livzan sare azhman janana;
Hazaren takburan Qafir khanana—
"Giran ail khanan Kahan Hana."'
Marian bastaghant Hindi manjana
Qabau umrai pat manjana,
Sara takbir khutha markh samana;
Saren Din Mahomed gon banzen bihana,
Hamara gone Gazane gon Hana.
Karam Han akhta, Sherani man tarana;
Mazare hung dathant Haibatana—
"Janan sathan, lutan ne hamana'

Sara buran, khashane zavana,
Phadh gardi laghor bazhman warana!"
  Shave rosh bitho wa bama dhamitha,
Mari gon Qafira jang aritha;
Janokhen tupaq wa topan raritha.
Subahan rosh dan nermosh charhitha,
Faringi surahen liah lahitha.
Khuthe khalbu man therha chanbaritha;
Sarena drang man chhaka drarittha
Sara erha pa bana ulhitha.
  Jahan jaskenthage top thawara,
Zamin zha topakan gardo ghubara,
Lahitho zartaghe Kohe mazara!
Sare erkhapto man lahme dighara
Ganritho watitha muri kirara:
Razen topan damia dath darara
Chirangen zurthaghan garmen hawara.
Marri sar sisto bitha du lara
Karam Han khapta gon chyargist wa chyara.
Mura Han gwastaghe napt guzara,
Qatal zha topane mar mara
Karime rakhitha pa sagh para,
Hazure pialawan noshe gon Yara;
Hamodha wajitha Shahe nighara
Hazur bhaje khapte Qafirara.
  Shahidi khaptaghan warna gharane
Pira chyargist marenthe sir jane.
Manan nam nyayan surihane;
Maluken Haibat wa tazi sazane,
Mura Han sunh sar taj amirane;
Mazaren Shahali istezaghane
Barakhen tegh raste an marane
Saghar goahan thi topan nishane!
Kuja Lunar hothen Muhammedane
Halalen dor warthan koh sarane?
Gihen Jarwar gon Miren Shahalia
Shuthaghant zaham tara ya diliya.
Bihishta nishtagant peghambariya;
Faringi rikhtaghant chhak wa sariya
Sagharan gahitho ishta Maria.
  Karbi khaptaghant dhundh Qafirane.
Du sal ser athant abtar garane,
Warokhen dal arshe khargazane;
Dare bokhte shutha wa guzh naghane
Hamon jiwar buz arithi muzahane.

111. Sakhi Doda, Sardar manghihane
112. Ali gon tho madaten quzratane;
113. Jahuden Qafirane jang jhora,
114. Marian khatiha pa zaham zora.
115. Ma kan gon ma tho jangi tak tora;
116. Quran nyamaghen Suhri gon bora;
117. Du brathon nishtaghun gar pa gwaria
118. Ma dar khota ado siman dariya!
119. Jathen zaham pa dil zora wathia;
120. Shukar jaga khutha dir awariya.
121. Thara sobh dathage Shahen Alia
122. Kar kalmo farze pa duren Nabia.

NOTES

The language of the poem may be considered fairly representative of poetical Balochi of the period.

A few Sindhi words occur, *e.g. zamin* (line 33: this may be a corrupt reading, as it does not rhyme) and one, I believe to be Brahuiki—*liahi* meaning "hope." (lines 27 and 62).

There are a number of presumably Baloch words which are entirely unfamiliar to me. I took "sazane" (line 94) as meaning "worth hundreds" (of rupees); but am somewhat doubtful of it.

An example of typical poetical diction is line 11—the idea of numbers being so close that they have no room to stand. Compare,

"*Ma dighara jagah nyath phadha*

"*Hand nyath mardar o nariyanan.*" "

The metre of the poem corresponds with that given as II., by Longworth Dames.

Line 91 is a good example.

U— — — U — — — U — —
Shahidi khaptagan warna gharane

Sometimes a "breath" after an accented word takes the place of an actual syllable, the rythm being maintained: *e.g.*

U — — — , — — — U — —
Line 7:—Shitabi danh dathi Sahebara;

U — —, U — — — U — —

Line 11.:—Niya jagh janokhen tupakara;

U — — — — — — —, U — —

Line 100:—Halalen dor warthan koh sarane.

These and other variations give the metre much the same flexibility as the Virgilian hexameter.

One section of the introduction, in Longworth Dames' book, is entitled "Methods of singing": but it contains little more than a detailed description of the two musical instruments which provide the accompaniment to Baloch Ballads. Of the music, he merely says: "Most of the chants are very monotonous, having a range of very few notes:" and this is true of the one example which he reproduces in notation. The description of a Baloch ballad-concert, given by that acute observer, Richard Burton (1), though in a humorous vein, seizes upon the peculiarity of the manner of singing: "Each fresh verse is ushered in by a loud howl so strikingly discordant that your every nerve starts at it, and so prolonged that anticipation wearies of looking forward to its close..... the conclusion of the phrase—a descent into the regions of the *basso* till the voice dies away, vaguely growling—"—of the melody, however, he says nothing definite.

I believe that a year or two ago, a gentleman from Europe toured this part of the country with a gramophone recording apparatus; and it is to be hoped that much of this music may be rescued from obscurity by these means.

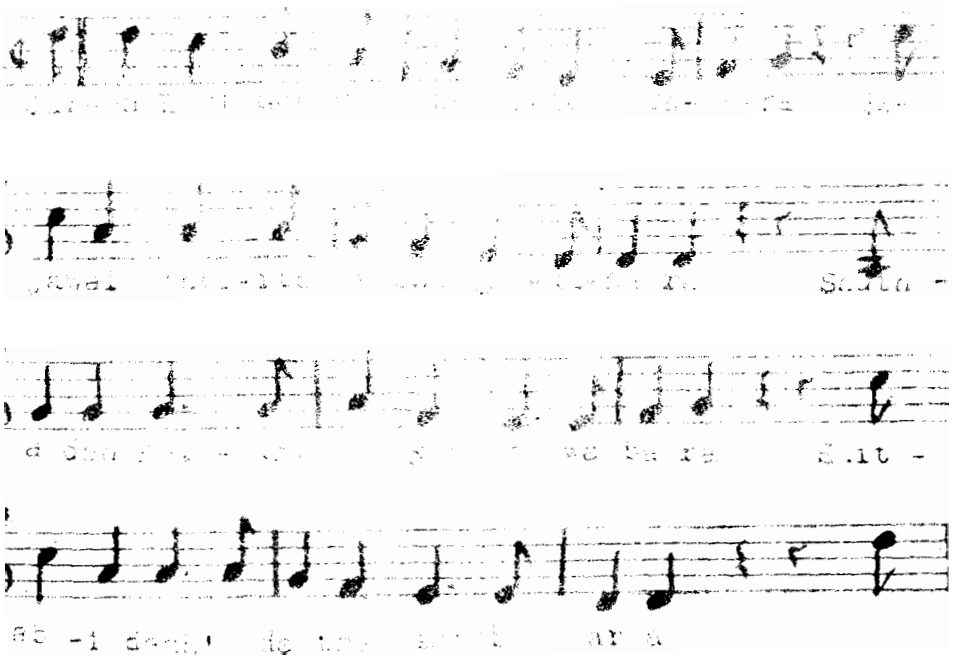
My equipment consisted of a tolerably good ear, and pencil and paper: and with some knowledge of the theory of music, this is quite sufficient. Baloch music, like that of most hill-peoples, is simple in character. The elaborate runs, *porta menti* and cadenzas, with quarter-tones, which embellish Indian music of the plains, with its vast variety of *rags* or modes, are here absent. The connection between verse and music is direct: the stresses generally fall on important words, and there is no lingering out of unimportant words, or single syllables over many notes, so often at the caprice of the Indian singer.

The Modes of Baloch melodies do not, so far as I have ascertained, depart from the diatonic Modes (Dorian, Lydian, Phrygian, etc.) on which the modern European major and minor scales are based. The intervals are all easily recognized tones or semi-tones and there is no serious difficulty in

(1) Scinde or the Unhappy Valley p. 174-179.

scoring a melody: though the tonal compromise to which a pianoforte is tuned has the effect of making them sound somewhat "out" when played on it.

The Mode to which the ballad of Naffusk is set is one of the least subject to this deterioration: it is what we know as the first of the "authentic Modes," the Dorian, proceeding D E F G A B C D. This Mode, to the European ear, sounds better going downwards than upwards: for the latter, it seems natural to adopt a transposition of the AEolian Mode* which, from the same "final," or key note, would proceed D E F G A B♭ C D. This flattening of the sub-mediant note (B) in the melody actually occurred in part of the accompaniment played on the sarinda, on one occasion that the ballad was sung to me by "manghanhars." Nevertheless, I am persuaded that the correct setting is in the Dorian Mode: and musicians may form their own conclusions from the chant as scored below:



*The "final" or key note of this mode is properly A, and it has been used from time immemorial for the well-known melody "Tonus Peregrinus" for the psalm "In exitu Israel."

This chant, it will be conceded, is dignified music, perfectly appropriate to the heroic but sombre theme of the poem. To those acquainted with the Anglican Cathedral Psalter, it will recall the Quadruple chant to which one or two of the longer psalms are set. In the actual singing too, there is the common feature of repetition of one line of the chant to allow the music to end together with the words; but while in the Psalm this adjustment is only introduced at the conclusion, the third line being repeated, it occurs several times in the singing of the ballad; so that the introduction of a new subject, or sometimes even the beginning of a new sentence, will be accompanied by the opening phrase of the chant. This is facilitated by the fact that the second and fourth lines of the music are identical. This true and vital union of words and music, in place of a haphazard association, adds enormously to the effectiveness of the ballad as sung: reinforcing the changes of rhyme which, in the verse, announce each new development in the narrative.

A ballad even more popular than that of Naffusk, at least in the Upper Sind Frontier District, is that popularly known as "Kehar Mehar." I have obtained three versions of this, two of them in entirely different metres. They record an incident which must have taken place shortly after John Jacob assumed charge of the frontier. It describes how the Foreigners having taken the country over from the Talpurs started tyrannising over the Balochis, and "Jekam"issues orders that he will not tolerate any more looting and raiding. Hearing that Kehar, Mehar, Chibbar and Kora, Khosas, were thieves, he called them to Khangarh, but they told the messenger they would not go—"Jekam" would be lucky if he ever saw them at Khangarh! A sowar came to take them, but they attacked and killed him. They then took counsel of a woman what they should do next—give themselves up, fly, or resist. She said they should resist, and she would fight with them if necessary. Soon a naik and party of sowars came, and a hand to hand fight occurred, in which, after killing several of the horsemen the four Khosas were either killed or captured. Chibbar was brought before Jacob, who was so pleased with his bravery that he gave him a dress of honour and a Jagir.

The language in the poems on this subject is unfortunately much mixed with Sindhi.

Another good ballad is that on the storming of Kelat and the heroic death of Mihrab Khan—an event referred to in the poem on Naffusk. Another, part of which was recited to me by the late Sardar Islam Khan, does not seem to be on the repertoire of any Baloch amateurs or their bards whom I have since questioned, and it would be a great pity if it actually has been forgotten. It dealt with the fortunes of the Sardar's namesake, Tumandar of the Bugtis, to whom reference has been made in the earlier part of this paper, and contained many allusions to Jacob and Merewether, describing why the Chief in extremity surrendered to Major Goldney rather than to Jacob.

I have recorded many other ballads commemorating inter-tribal fights which, perhaps, are not worth remembering by any but the descendents of those engaged.

Another class of poetry which is popular among the Hill-Balochis in particular, is that which deals with miracles of the Prophet, and more particularly those performed by Hazrat Ali.

There is a very long poem on the legend of Ali's miracle at Naig in Sehwan Taluka. He was working on earth as a labourer, and the infidel King of this place engaged him to draw water out of a well of fabulous depth, as Ali had admitted that he could do the work of one hundred men. Out of curiosity, the King came in the afternoon to see how he was working; and finding him asleep by the well, kicked him angrily, asking him why he was not drawing water. Ali thereupon caused a spring to flow—the water rose out of the well and began to flood the whole countryside, until the King expressed himself a sincere convert to Islam, when it was stayed by Ali.

Similar legends are current at a number of places west of the River Indus.

The Balochis also delight in satirical poems; and I have recorded an amusing modern one describing how the Chiefs of the most prominent tribes in Balochistan demeaned themselves by drawing the carriage of a departing Agent to the Governor General to the railway station. It may be recorded, as a curious repetition of Marri intractability, that the Chief of that tribe flatly declined to participate in such unbecoming conduct!

Most Balochis are more or less acquainted with the classics of their language: the poetry of the heroic age of Mir Chakar and Gwaharam: and to a less degree with poems connected with their own tribe.

Their characteristic emulation is evident when repeating the well known "Daptar Sha'r" or ballad of genealogies: if their particular tribe is not mentioned, in the authentic version, they will insert its name in place of another.

Original composition still continues among the Balochi, and I have had the pleasure of recording, from the lips of the composer, a ballad commemorating the exploits of one of the "Robin Hoods" of late years. This poet is an old man, of no position or education, named Rehan son of Suleiman, Gabol, and lives in a remote valley of the Kohistan. His mind is a storehouse of the classical ballads, and the style of his own compositions is in the old tradition.

Most of his poems are of a quasi-religious type, dealing with dreams and visions. Though their intrinsic merit may be slight, this evidence of culture acquired in the primitive simplicity of the mountains is interesting: and it is disturbing to feel that his compositions, as well as many more still existing from the past, are likely to lapse into oblivion for want of a few connoisseurs, who could surely be found among the many educated members of their race, to record them.

Professor Hodivala's comments on

TARIKH-I-TAHIRI.

(Elliot's History of India, Vol. I, pages 253-288.)

Page. 256.1.26. *Every night he possessed himself of a maiden.*

This exercise of the droit de seigneur is a very common feature in folktales about dragons, tyrants, and monsters of sorts, but it may be worth while to note here that similar wickedness is actually ascribed to Mirza Ghazi Tarkhan, the son of Jani Beg who was Subadar of Thatta in the reign of Jehangir, by the compiler of the Massiru-l-Umara. "He required" this author assures us "every night a virgin and girls from all places were brought to him and the women of the town of Thatta were so debauched, that every bad woman, even long after his death claimed to have had relations with the Mirza" (Text, III 348; Blochmann, Ain, Tr. I. 364). The anecdote may be only a canard, but it would seem as if the enforcement of this 'ancient privilege' was associated in the popular mind of Sind with the exercise of strong and vigorous rule, even in the seventeenth century.

The alleged feat of the merchant is a romantic folktale masquerading as history. Alor was most probably destroyed, as the Imperial Gazeteer states by "the great earthquake which diverted the Indus into another channel and also deprived the town of its water supply (VI, 4; see also Haig's Indus Delta Country, 72). The legend appears for the first time in the Tarik-i-Tahiri and there is no allusion or reference to it in the History of Masum. It will be observed also that neither the merchant nor his handmaiden is given any name at all in the earliest version. They are called Saifu-l-Muluk and Badiu-l-Jamal for the first time only in the Tuhfatu-l-Kiram which was compiled only about 1181 H. 1767-68 A.C. (p. 328, Elliot, Vol. I). Both these names occur frequently as those of lovers in Oriental story-books and are fictitious. A Dakhni poet named Ghawwasi also is known to have written in Hindustani a masnavi on the loves of Saifu-l-Muluk and Badiu-l-Jamal in 1035 H. (Houtsma. E. I. IV, 1025, s.v. Urdu).

Page 258. 1.8. *Destruction of Brahmanabad.*

Brahmanabad, Bhambor and Alor are all said to have been destroyed in a single night by divine wrath. The legend of the Chhota Amrani, the maiden Fatima who taught him to read the Quran, and who after marrying him, escaped from the doomed city, just on the eve of the catastrophe, bears a very suspicious resemblance to the story of Zobeide, in the Arabian Nights. There, The prince was the only inhabitant not turned into stone was saved because his Muslim nurse had taught him to read the Quran and made him one of the faithful. Ibn Batuta's tale (Defremery, III, 113) of the petrified Kafir city which lay about seven miles (kos) from Larry Bunder, looks like another variant of this same legend of Chhota Amrani. The city was probably the ruined town of Bhambor or Bhanbarwa, which lies 12 miles north west of Larry Bunder (Ancient Geography, 299). Hughes notes that Bhambor is still known as the "Kafar" or "infidel City" and was formerly called "Mansawar" or "Manhavar" (Gazeteer, 120). Cunningham supposed "the petrified city" to be Daibal, but that was because he sought to locate the latter at Larry Bunder, an opinion which is now almost universally rejected.

Page 259.1.32. *The second night they were saved by the watching Gunigir, but on the third night, the whole city was swallowed up.*

It is not easy to say what this "Gunigir" means or stands for. It cannot be a personal name, as no such name is known. In the English version of the legend, as it is related on the authority of the Tuhfatu-l-Kiram in Hughes' Gazeteer (p. 141) it is understood as a Sindhi vocable or common noun signifying "oil-pressor," and not as the personal designation of any individual. But the interpolation of a vernacular word in the Persian text of the story seems to be neither appropriate nor necessary and I suggest that گنيگير is a miswriting of کنيز کي Kanizaki, "A maid-servant, a young girl."

Stories of the fate of doomed cities having been temporarily delayed by the prayers or on account of the presence of some saintly individual of humble birth are common in folk-lore and have been not infrequently related even by the credulous authors of contemporary histories. For instance, we are assured that the conquest of Thatta by Sultan Firuz

Tughlaq was delayed because a saintly old woman was one of its residents. The city could not fall so long as she was alive, but it was destined to surrender to the invader immediately after her death (Shams-I-Siraj, Tarakh-i-Firuzshahi, text 241, Elliot III, 334).

It may be also noted that as "the destruction which hovered over the city was staved off on the first night by the watching of an *old widow* "it seems quite appropriate and in the true vein of folklore to suggest that it was held up on the second by the vigils of *a young virgin.*" Cunningham remarks that "the same stereotyped legend is told of all the old cities in the Punjab, as well as those of Sind. Shorkot, Harappa, and Atari are all said to have been destroyed on account of the sins of their rulers as well as Alor, Brahmanabad and Bambhura (Ancient Geography, 275).

Page 263, footnote. *The Tuhfutu-l-Kiram* (p. 74) *says that Mir Tahir is here in error, the real author being Idrahi Beg.*

The statement will be found in the translation at 350 infra. The "Chanesar Nama" was really written by Idraki (not Idrahi) Beg, but it was dedicated to or composed under the patronage of Mir Abul Qasim Sultan, it is said in the Tarikh-i-Tahiri to have been written in his name" (د و نام او نوشته). Idraki Beglar is explicitly said in a "Tazkira" called "Maqalatu-sh-shuara" also, to have been the author of a Masnavi called چنیسر نامو (Rieu, III. Addditions, 1906). د و نام او نوشته is a phrase frequently used in such a connection. The Qanun-i-Masudi of Alberuni and the Kitab-i-Masudi of Nisihi are, both said by Khwandamir, to "have been compiled in the name of Sultan Masud Ghaznavi." (Elliot, IV, 199). The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri is said to have been written in the name of Sultan Naziru-d-din Mahmud (بنام او ا لیف یافته) by the author of the Tabaqat-i-Akbari (35, 1.11). It is said of Tansen also that "most of his compositions were written in the name of "Arsh Ashiani, *i.e.* Akbar." تصانیف او اکثر بنام عرش آشیانس نوشیه بنام من (Maasiru-i-Umara, II. 134, last line). The Emperor Jahangir tells us that his Vazir, Asaf Khan composed a poem on the loves of Khusru and Shirin and entitled it Nur-nama "after my own name" (Tuzuk, 108.1.3 f.f.) This is rendered as "dedicated to me" by Mr. Rogers Tr. 1.22). The Lataif-i-Ghiyasi of Razi also was so called because it was "written in honour of" Sultan Ghiyasu-d-din Sam (Budauni, 1.53=Tr. I.73).

Page 267.1.28. *This was the plan.*

This is an age-old ruse which has been associated with diverse places and fathered on diverse national heroes Grant Duff states that Mahratta traditions ascribe a similar stratagem to Shivaji and that a fort called Parichitgarh is said to have been captured in this way by a body of insurgents in the reign of the Peshwa Baji Rao II. also. "Having corrupted one or two persons in the garrison, a party of them, each loaded with a bundle of grass and having his arms concealed below it, appeared at the gate in the dress of villagers to deposit as they pretended the annual supply for the purpose of thatching the houses in the fort, and admittance having been thus gained they surprised the garrison and possessed themselves of the place." (History of the Mahrattas, Reprint, 1873, p. 64 note). This story of the trick by which the two Samma cheifs, whose names are said to have been Muda and Manai, laid the foundation of their rule in Kachh is well known and was related to Burgess during his tour in the province. The event is said to have taken place about 1320 A. C. and the fort to have belonged to Wagam Chavada of Gunthri, now a small village about 36 miles west of Bhuj. (Arch. Survey Reports, 1874-1875, p. 200; Bombay Gazeteer, V, Cutch, 133, 222-223). The date is given by other authorities as 1270 A.C. (Duff, Chronology of India, 290).

Page 268.1.21. *Rai Bhara and Jam Sihta, the Rajas of both Great and Little Kachh, are descended from the Samma tribe.*

Rai Bhara is Bharmal, the Rao of Kachh, who paid a visit to the Emperor Jahangir at Ahmedabad in 1027 A.H. (Tuzuk, Text, 235). Jam Sahita (Sata) is Jam Satarsal of Nawanagar, whose son and successor Jasa was similarly compelled by a show of force to pay his respects at the same time, to the Mughal Emperor. "Sixty years ago" writes Abul Fazl about 1595 A.C. "Jam Rawal....was driven out of the country of Kachch and settled in Sorath....and founded the city of Nawanagar and his country received the name of Little Kachh. Satarsal, the present Raja is his grandson" (Ain, Tr. II, 250). The rulers of Kachh and Nawanagar are Jadeja Sammas, i.e., Sammas descended from Jada. The Sammas are said to have fled from Sindh to escape the tyrany of the Sumras and become masters of the country about 1320 A.C. "They then ruled over it, in three branches, upto 1540 A.C. when Khengar drove out Jam Rawal and became sole master of

the whole province" (Imperial Gazeteer, XI, 78). Rao Bharmal ruled in Kachh from 1585 to 1631 A.C.(Bombay Gazeteer, V. Cutch, 136). Satarsal (Sataji or Satoji) was Jam from 1569 to 1608 A.C. (Ibid, VIII, 547-569).

Page 269.1.2. *These people (the Sumras) had many strange customs, such as the strong branding of stamp of slavery upon the shoulders of the weak.*

The author of Mirat-i-Sikandari, a history of the independent Sultans of Gujarat which was written about 1610 A.C. says that Sultan Mahmud bin Latif (r. 943-961 H. 1537-1554 A.C.) actually revived this custom and enforced it in the turbulent parts of his kingdom. "With a view of putting down the turbulent Kolis of Banswara, Rajpipla,Lunawara and the Mahikantha, he ordered all those who remained in his territories and worked at the plough to be branded on the right arm, and if any Rajput or Koli was found without the brand-mark, he was killed. He also ordered that no Hindu could ride on horseback in the city and every Hindu had to carry a piece of red cloth round his sleeve" (Bombay Lith. 334, Tr. Fazl Lutfulla, 239; Tr. Bayley, 439). Biladuri states that Amran son of Musa who was governor of Sind in 222 H. summoned the Jats, took from them the Jizya, ordered every one of them to carry a dog with him and "sealed their hands" by which he probably means that they were branded on the arm (128 ante).

It was the practice to brand slaves to facilitate capture in the event of flight or secure proofs of identification in cases of disputed ownership. Abbas Khan Sarwani informs us that when Shir Shah came to Khushab and "ordered the Baluchis to brand their horses Ismail Khan, their chief, said "other persons brand their horses,I will brand my own body," Sher Shah was so pleased that he excused him from the branding and confirmed to him the country of Sind" (Elliot, IV, 388).

According to Tuhfatu-l-Kiram, the nails were extracted by the roots not from their own hands and feet, but from those of other people who were their inferiors (Chachnama, Vol. II., page 38)., but the older author appears to have grasped the inside meaning better.

Page 270.1.6. *The late Mirza Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, notwithstanding his parsimony and economy....gave away in charity the produce of his husbandry.*

The story as it is related here is pointless and incoherent. The person who gave away in charity "the produce of his husbandry" was not, as this rendering makes out, the

mean and miserly Mirza Baqi, but the Dervish. "The Fakirs, widows and the poor were the recipients of the bounty" of the Dervish and not of the Mirza. Again, it was the Dervish and not the Mirza who asked the guest why he did not partake of "the sumptuous meal ordered for him." The word "Your Holiness" applies really to the devotee and is wrongly translated as "Your Majesty." It is this fundamental error which is responsible for the confusion. Tahir Muhammad, like other devout Musalmans of his day, was a great admirer of Santons and hermits and the anecdote is evidently related with a view to emphasise the greatness of the Dervish by laying stress on the reverence and awe in which he was held by a sanguinary tyrant and grasping curmudgeon like Muhammad Baqi.

The sordid nature of Muhammad Baqi is illustrated in the Tuhfatu-l-Kiram by the anecdote that one of his servants who collected "a heap of grain from the dung of horses" in the stables was promoted at once to a high office and became a great favourite (Chachnama, II, 102).

Page 271.1.23. *These people (The Sammas of Kachh) hold in high respect their minstrels, such as the Katruyas, the Chrans, the Doms and the Marats(?)*

Katriyas is a puzzle. Can it be meant for Katviyas, i.e. Gadvi Marat looks like an error for بارٹ or بَروٹ Barat or Barot, a name by which Charans are known (Bombay Gazeteer II, Surat, 374). Doms are a very caste who are sweepers but also village musicians, tumblers, dancers etc. (Yule. Hobson Jobson. s. v. Dome).

Page 275.1.9. *One day Jam Nanda went out to hunt, taking with him his minister Lakzhir.*

Dowson observes in his footnote that "the Tuhfatu-l-Kiram is doubtful about the real name, saying it is Lahakdir or Lahgir." The right reading is Lakhdhir a common name still in Kachh and Kathiawad. The present Maharaja of Morvi is named Lakhdhirji. The father of the ruling Thakor of Rajkot bore the same name. The Sanskrit form must be Lakshadhira or Lakshmidhar. The name seems to have been spelt with the Persian dal, which is pronounced like "Z or zal" and also as "d or dh." It may be noted that Jam Nanda is here said by Tahir Muhammad also to have been the son of Babiniya (Bamaniyo).

Page 275.1.15. *The lad filled the cup and threw in it some small blades of grass.*

This is a very common by-plot in folktales about kings who have lost their way while out hunting and suffered from a burning thirst. It is an episode in the "tale of the King and the Gardener's daughter" which is told by Jahangir (Tuzuk, Text 251, Tr. II.52)a and also in an older variant in Burton's "Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night" (V, 87-88), where it is associated with Khusrau Anushirwan. Manucci relates a very similar anecdote of which the hero was neither Jam Nanda nor the Sassanian Kisra, but the Timuride Shah Jahan. He tells us that "the Emperor was once separated from his retinue while out hunting and felt very thirsty. He went to a village where a Brahman gave him water, but seeing that he was drinking it very greedily threw into the vessel a little grass. On being angrily asked to explain the reason, he declared that it was just what he did to his asses, so that they might not get an attack of colic." (Storia, Tr. Irvine, I, 214).

Page 276.1.27. *News came from Thatta that the Firingis had passed Lahori Bandar, and attacked the city.*

This event is put by the author into 973 A.H. but Tarkhan Nama has the right year which was 963 H. (324 infra). The Portuguese accounts leave no doubt as to the raid having been perpetrated in 1555-56 A. C. Faria Y. Souza, Tr. John Stevens (1693), pp. 184-85; Danvers, History of the Portuguese in India, 1. 508; Haig Indus Delta Country. 99). A. H. 963 began on 16th November 1555 and ended on 3rd November 1556 A.C.

Page 278.1.18. *His (Mirza Isa Tarkhan's) reign ended with his life in the year* 984 *H.* (1576 *A.D.*)

The Tarikh-i-Tahiri is again wrong. Mir Masum gives 974 (Tr. Malet p. 133) and so also the Tarkhan Nama (Elliot, p. 326). Abul Fazl states that in or about Rajab 974 H. Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan sent ambassadors to Akbar saying that his father Isa Tarkhan was dead and professing his own allegiance. He also complained that Sultan Mahmud Bhakkari was preparing to invade his territory, upon which Akbar issued orders to Mahmud Khan to confine himself to his own dominions (Akbar Nama II, 277; Tr. II, 411). Elsewhere in the same work it is stated that Mirza Isa

had died some years before 978 A.H. (Text II. Tr. II. 526). The arrival of the embassy from Muhammad Baqi, reporting the death of his father is also mentioned in the Tabaqat-i-Akbari in the annals of the eleventh year (973-974H) of Akbar's reign (Elliot. V. 315; Text 277, 1.9 and 728, 1.5) and also by Badauni, (B. I. Text and Trans. Ranking and Lowe) (II 91, Tr. II. 93) and Tarikh-i-Firishta (II.322). This contemporary testimony from independent sources settles the matter. Mr. Cousens (Antiquities of Sind, 35) gives 980H. which must be due to some error.

Page 285.1.31. *When he drew near the Lakhi mountain, which wise men hold to be the key of the country.....*

There are two places of this name in Sind. This is the Lakhi about twelve miles south of Sehwan. "Between the town of Lakhi and Sehwan the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. This defile was washed away in 1839 A.C. on the Indus, which now sweeps along the base of the cliff." (Thornton, 570; see also Hughes Gazeteer, 686).

Page 286.1.7. *Tribes of the Baloch and Nahmrui, of the Jokiya and Jat.*

The Jokiyas are a tribe among the Baluch. (Wood, Journey, 12). The Numria and Jokia tribes are mentioned by Hughes (Gazeteer, 290, 428). as dwelling in the Jhirk and Kohistan districts. He supposes the Numria to be a clan of Rajput origin. "It is said that Esub Khan with his eight brothers left Rajputana and settled at Kej in Makran. They were well received by the chief, but they subsequently assasinated him on account of an insult offered to the eldest brother. After this outrage, they were driven out of Makran and obliged to settle on the Western frontier of Sind" (Wood, Journey, 291). They are again mentioned at 291 infra. wrongly as Nabumiya. Abdul Fazl speaks of them as Nohmardi (lit. nine men). He notes that they were then dwelling in the Kirthar range of hills (which runs from Sehwan to Siwi) and were able to furnish a force of 300 horse and 7,000 foot. (Ain. Tr. II., 337). According to Tod, their correct name is Mumris or Luka from Lukri, a familiar term for fox and they are originally jats. (Tod's Rajesthan, II. 1198; III, 1290) More recent writers however regard them as aboriginal inhabitants

of Las Beyla. According to Imperial Gazeteer (XVI, 146) the Sabra, Gunga, Burra and six other tribes constitute a group of nine tribes, which are termed Numria. See also Census of Baluchistan (1911) p. 17 and Imperial Gazeteer, XVI, 5.

Page 287.1.4. *Mirza Jani Beg Sultan made his agreement with his soldiers that every one of them who should bring in an enemy's head should receive* 500 *gabars, every one of them worth twelve Miris, called in the Mirza's time postanis of which seventy-two went to one Tanka.*

The passage is cited in Hobson Jobson by Yule, but he admits his inability to elucidate it. "The Gubber" he says, would appear from three other excerpts cited in the article, to have been "some kind of gold ducat or sequin," but the "gabar" of this passage could hardly have borne any such signification. The fact is that the gold coin which is called "Gubber" in his excerpts from Lockyer and Milburn has nothing to do with the "Gabar" of the Tarikh-i-Tahiri. The clue to the correct explanation of the term is found in the Ain. Abul Fazl informs us that an Ibrahimi was equal to 40 Kabirs and that 14 Kabirs were equal to a rupee of Akbar Shah (Tr. II.56). Now we are told here that one Gabar equals 12 Miris and 72 Miris equal a Tanka (of Sind). This tanka was a Shahrukhi or Misqali which was worth about 2/5ths of an Akbari rupee. (Hodivala, Historical studies in Mughul Numismatics, 1-10). The Gabar was therefore, equal to 1/6th of a Tanka and 1/15th of an Akbari Rupee. This result is so close to the equation given by Abul Fazl (1/14th of a rupee) that there can be little doubt in regard to the identity of the Gabar and the Kabir. See also my notes on Hobson Jobson in the Indian Antiquary for 1929, p. 171. s. v.

The name of the Hindu "Giriya" (line 11) should be read perhaps as Gidiya, i.e. Gidumal.

Page 288, line 13. *Charkas Daftir, the chief of the merchants of Firang who repaired yearly to Thatta from Hormuz.*

As the identification of this "Charkas Daftir" is not easy, it may be worth while to note the ingenious suggestion of Mr. Beveridge in regard to the matter. Abul Fazl in his description of this naval battle, writes: "Four ghrabs full of men and stores were captured. In one of them was the ambassador of Ormuz. The rule is that the Governor of Hormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta. Mirza Jani Beg has brought him to proclaim that these tribes (the Portuguese) had come to help him...Active men brought up their ghrabs

and wounded Khusru, and he was nearly made prisoner. Suddenly, a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces and some were killed" (Akbarnama, Tr. III, 920). Mr. Beveridge observes that the word for "ambassador" is فيطور in his own manuscript and طيقور in the Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri of other contemporary chronicler, Muatamad Khan. The latter author explains that he was the Gumashta or Agent of the Governor of Ormuz. فيطور is the Portuguese "Feitor" which is synonymous with the English "Factor," i.e. Agent. Mr. Beveridge thinks that "Daftir" must be a corruption of "Feitor." Charkas stands for "Jarjis" or "Jurgis" (George) and Charkas Daftir would be a perversion of "George, the Factor." A Charkas Rumi is mentioned in Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 258.4; Elliot V. 434.

Page 288.1.16. *But the attempt cost both of them (Daftor and Khusrau) their lives.*

Khusrau Khan did not lose his life in this battle. He was captured but escaped in the confusion caused by the explosion of a powder magazine in the Imperial ghrab (see page 249 ante). When Jani Beg was obliged to go to Agra and leave his minor son, Ghazi Beg, as his deputy in Thatta, this Khusrau was appointed one of the members of the governing council. Subsequently he was accused of the embezzlement of public funds but Mirza Ghazi happened to die soon afterwards (1021 A.H., 1611 A.C.) and he was again saved by the skin of his teeth. He is credited by local tradition with the erection, in the days of his power and glory, of no less than 360 public buildings, including mosques, tombs, wells and bridges. Popular legend describes these benefactions as undertaken by way of atonement for the involuntary sin of having accidentally beheld a neighbour's wife, while she was bathing. It is said that he wanted to gouge out his eyeballs and was with difficulty persuaded by the "Ulema to adopt and rest content with this mode of expiation". The oldest mosque in Thatta—the Dabgar Masjid—is known also as Khusrau Khan's Mosque dates back to 1588 A.C. (Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, 121-122). There are biographical notices of Khusrau Khan in Blochmann, Ain. Tr. I., 363; Maasiru-l-Umara, III., 346-7; Chachnama, II, 123-124 144, and elsewhere.

The author is mistaken in prefixing the title "Sultan" to the name of Khusrau at page 287, line 10 f.f. Khusrau Charkas was only a slave of Mirza Jani Beg.

To the Annual Reports of the Director General of Archaeology in India. 1919 *to* 1929

and

Part I—Annual Reports. 1902 to 1918

by

H. HARGREAVES, F.S.A.

SUBJECTS RELATING TO SIND.

AMRI. Antiquities from. Vol. XXIX (1929-30). pp. 113-115.
Burnes' account of. Vol. XXIX (1929-30). p. 113.
Excavations at Do. pp. 113-115.
Indus Valley culture at Do. pp. 114.
Mounds at Do. pp. 113-115.
Prehistoric pottery of two types. Do. pp. 114, 115.
Prehistoric site on River Indus. Do. pp. 113-115, 121.
Structural remains at Do. pp. 113-115.
Two cultures at Do. pp. 115.
ARORE (Sind). Pre-Arab site at. Vol. XXIX (1929-30), p. 120.
ASPHALT, use of at Mohen-jo-daro. Vol. XXV (1925-26), p. 165.
BADAH site of the Indus period. Vol. XXV (1925-26). p. 99.
BANERJI, R.D. Discovery of Mohen-jo-daro prehistoric remains, Vol. XXV, 72.
Mohen-jo-daro excavations by, Vol. XXII (1922-23), p. 102-4, Vol. XXIII (1923-24), p. 48, 52; Vol. XXIV (1924-1925), p. 123.
BHAKKAR. Fort of· Vol. XXI (1921-22), p. 18.
Shrine of Sadhubela, Do. p. 18.
BHANDARKAR, D.R. Excavations at Mirpurkhas. Vol. XXIX, (1929-30), p. 116.
BITUMEN. As damp-proof course at Mohen-jo-daro, Vol. XXV (1925-26), p. 77-78. Vol. XXVI, (1926-27), p. 52; 62.
Sources of, Vol. XXV (1925-26), p. 78. Vol. XXVI (1926-1927), p. 52.
BRICKS. Kachcha at Mohen-jo-daro, Nal and Sampur Mound, q. v. large, Vol. XXI, (1921-22), p. 47, 90.
Wedge shaped at Mohen-jo-daro, Vol. XXIV (1924-25), p. 66. Vol. XXV (1925-26), p. 82.
BRONZE, at Indus Valley sites, Vol. XXVI (1926-27), p. 55-56.
See Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro, chemical treatment of, Vol. XXIII (1923-24), p. 112-113.
BURNES, J. Account of Amri by, XXIX (1929-30), pp. 113, 115.

CARTER, G. E. L. On ancient sites in Sind, Vol. XXIX, (1929-30), pp. 110, 111, 112.
CHANDA, R. The Indus Valley in the Vedic Period. Vol. XXIV (1924-25), p. 123.
EA-BANI, figure resembling, at Mohen-jo-daro, Vol. XXV, 95; Vol. XXVI, p. 58. Vol. XXVIII, p. 77.
FRESCOES. At Mohen-jo-daro. Vol. XXII, p. 102-103.
GADD, C.J. On Indus Valley Antiquities, Vol. XXIII, p. 48.
GREAT MIHRAN. (Hakra or Wahindah), ancient river of Sind. Vol. XXVI, p. 54.
HAKRAH. Brick remains at, discovered by canal operations, Vol. XXIX, pp. 120-121.
HARGREAVES, H. Excavations at Mohen-jo-daro. Vol. XXV, 73, 74, 80-87; Vol. XXVI pp. 61, 64, 67, 73, 84.
HORSE. Absent from Indus Valley seals. Vol. XXIV, p. 62.
IBEX, on Mohen-jo-daro seals. Vol. XXIV, p. 65.
INDUS CULTURE. Vol. XXIV, p. 123; XXV, 75; XXVI, 51-60; XXVII, 164; XXVIII, 67.
Agriculture of, XXVI, 54.
In Ambala District, XXIX, 132.
Amenities of, XXIV, 61; XXVI, 52.
At Amri, XXIX, 114-15.
Art of, XXVI, 57.
At Chanhudaro, XXIX, 117, 118-120.
Chronology. XXVI, 53-54.
Connections with Sumer, XXVI, 52, 53, 56, 58, 59.
Disposal of the dead, XXVI, 57.
Domesticated animals of, XXVI, 54.
Extent of, XXV, 72; XXVI, 59-60.
Food of people, XXVI, 54.
At Harappa, q. v.
Inscribed seals of, XXVI, 53, 56,57.
At Jhukar, q. v.
Metals of, XXVI, 55-56.
At Mohen-jo-daro, q. v.
Personal ornaments, XXVI, 55.
Pottery of, XXVI, 56.
Races of, XXVI, 57-58.
Range and character of, XXIII, 49.
Religion, XXVI, 58, 59.
Structural remains of, XXVI, 51-53.
Weapons of, XXVI, 56.
Weaving and dress, XXVI, 55.
Wild animal remains, XXVI, 55.
Writing of, XXVI, 5.

INDUS RIVER. XXI, 97; XXII, 99.
Erosion by, XXII, 99.
Flooding by, at Mohen-jo-daro, XXIV, 68; XXVIII, 58, 72-73; Vol. XXIX, 105-106.
INDUS SEALS. Rise in bed of, XXV, 59.
Discovery at Susa and in Mesopotamia, XXVI, 53; Date of. XXVI, 53.
INDUS WARE found in Baluchistan and on Waziristan border, XXVI, 56.
CHANHUDARO. Antiquities from, Vol. XXIX (1929-30), pp. 117, 118-120.
Beds from. Do. pp. 117, 118.
Birds at. Do. p. 119.
Bull at, Do. p. 119.
Copper objects, Do. p. 120.
Drain at, Do. p. 118.
Excavations at, do. pp. 117-120.
Ibex at. Do. p. 118.
Indus valley culture at. Do. p. 117-118-120.
Monkey at. Do. p. 119.
Mother Goddess at. Do. p. 119.
Pictographs at. Do. p. 118-119.
Pottery from. Do. pp. 117, 119-120.
Prehistoric site of. Do. pp. 116-120, 121.
Seals and sealings from. Do. pp. 118-119, 120.
Shell objects from. Do. pp. 118.
Stone objects from. Do. p. 120.
Terracotta figurines and toys from, Do. 117, 119.
Unicorn at. Do. p. 119.
Well at. Do. p. 118.
CHAUPAT PIECES. Found at Mohenjodaro. Vol. XXIV, (1924-25), p. 73.
CHESSMEN. At Indus Valley sites. Vol. XXIV, p. 61, 73; Vol. XXV., p. 79; Vol. XXVI (1926-27), p. 68.
COINS. Of Arab Rulers of Sind. Vol. XXIX (1929-30), p. 110.
From Jhukar, Vol. XXVII, p. 78, 83.
From Mohenjodaro. Vol. XXII, p. 103, 104; Vol. XXIII, p. 48; Vol. XXVII, p. 69.
COTTON CLOTH. Found at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXVI, pp. 55, 65, 72; Vol. XXIX, 106.
COTTON THREAD. At Mohenjodaro. Vol. XXIV, (1924-1925), p. 70.
COUSENS, H. On Mirpurkhas votive tablets. Vol. XXV, p. 118.

CREMATION. At Harappa and Mohenjodaro, q. v. see also CINERARY URNS.

DALU RAI. King in semi-historical legends of Sind. Vol. XXIX, p. 116.

DICE. Found at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXIV, p. 72; Vol. XXVI, p. 86.

DIKSHIT, K. N. Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXIV, p. 60, 62, 63-73; Vol. XXV, pp. 72, 73, 74, 87, 93; Vol. XXVII, p. 71; Vol. XXVIII, p. 67.
Explorations in Sind, Vol. XXV, pp. 98-100; Vol. XXIX, p. 110.

DOG. At Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXIV, 73; Vol. XXVI, p. 77, 91.

DOLICHOCEPHALY EVIDENCE OF, at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXIV, p. 72.

DRAIN PIPES of earthenware, at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXV, pp. 83-84.

JHUKAR. Buddha figures on pottery from, XXVII, p. 78, 82.
Chert flakes, cores and polisher from, XXVII, 78, 79, 81.
Coins from, XVII, 78, 83.
Drawings of, XXVII, 195.
Excavations at, XXVII, 76-83; XXIX, 110.
Gupta remains at, XXVII, 77, 78, 81-83.
Indus Valley antiquities at. XXVII. 77-78; 79–81.
Inscribed terracottas, XXVII. 78, 81-82.
Photographs. XXVII. 194.
Pottery
Decorated, XXVII. 77, 78-79, 80-81, 82.
Designs in relief on, XXVII, 78.
Glazed, VII. 78.
Prehistoric antiquities at. XXVII, 77, 79-81.
Three culture strata at. XXVII. 77-78.
Well at. XXVII. 78.

KALANKOT. ANCIENT SITE WITH FORT AND MOSQUE. Vol. XIX, p. 111.

KALHORA Amirs, tombs of, at Hyderabad Sind. XIX, pp. 9-10.

KHUZDAR. XXVII, 176.
Ancient sites at, Vol. XXV, 63.
Glazed pottery from, XXV. 63.
Kiln for glazed pottery. XXV. 63.
Remains at, XXV. 63.

LEAD, at Mohenjodaro, Vol. XXIV, 62, 73. XXV, 76, 94.

LIMOJUNEGO. Extensive ancient site. Vol. XXV, 98-99.
Indus antiquities at. XXV. 99.
Need for protection of site, XXV, 99.
Reported finds from. XXV. 99.
LINGA. At Mohenjodaro, XXVI, 68, 73, 83, 84; see also chessmen and phallic emblems.
LOHUNJODARO, ancient site of prehistoric period. XXV. 99-100.
MACKAY, E. J. H. XXVI, 245, 246; XXVII, 196; XXIX, 202-203, 241.
Excavations at Mohenjodaro. XXV, 73, 82-92; XXVI, 60, 89-97; XXVII, 67-76; XXVIII 67-75; XXIX, 98-109.
MAJUMDAR, N. G. Excavations at Jhukar, XXVII, 76-83.
Mohenjodaro, XXVI, 61; XXVIII, 67.
Explorations in Sind. XXIX, p. 110-121.
MALACHITE green pain use at Mohenjodaro, XXIV, p. 73.
MANGER on Indus Valley seals and Proto-Elamite cylinder, XXIV, 71.
MARSHALL, Sir John. Excavations at Mohenjodaro. XXV, 72—87, 201; XXVI, 61.
On Mesopotamian and Indus valley cultures, XXIV, 74.
Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization, by, XXIX, 206.
On prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley, XXIV, 60-63.
On Siva on Mohenjodaro seal. XXVIII, 74-75.
On the Indus Culture, XXVI, 51-60.
On Yogi figure from Mohenjodaro. XXIX, 192.
MIRPURKHAS. Buddhist stupa at, XXVII, 191.
Excavations at, XXIX, 116.
Terracota votive tablets from. XXV, 118.
MITRA, P. at Mohenjodaro excavations, XXVI, 61.
MOGHUL-GHUNDAI. Antiquities from, XXVI, 224.
Burial cairus at, XXVI, 224; XXVII, 170, 171.
MOHENJODARO.
Adze of basalt, XXV, 93.
Agate, XXV, 79, 98.
Age of remains, XXVI, 53-54; XXVIII, 73.
Alabaster, XXV, 78, 79, 80, 82, 85, 91; XXVI, 72, 96.
Pierced screen of XXV, 97; XXVI, 63.
Amulets, XXIX, 107, 108; See also copper amulets, (below).
Animal bones, XXV, 96; XXVII, 69.
Antelope, XXIV, 62; XXV, 94; XXVIII, 73; XXIX, 106.
Antimony, XXIV, 73.
Antiquities in Indian Museum, XXIV 123; XXV, 151.

Antlers of stag. XXV, 96.
Artizans' quarter, XXVII, 71-72; XXVIII, 67.
Asphalt, XXV 165, see Bitumen.
Bath and Bathrooms, XXIV, 61; XXV, 82; et passim XXVI, 63; et passim XXVII, 70.
Hot air XXV, 90; XXVI, 52, see also Great Bath.
Batter of walls, XXV, 79, 80; XXVI, 51-52; XXVIII 70; XXIX, 98-99, 101, 103.
Beads. XXIV, 65, 70, 73, XXV 76, et passim XXVI, 71; see also Jewellery.
Birds. XXIV, 72; XXVIII, 73.
Bison. XXV, 86.
Bitumen as cementing and waterproofing material, XXV, 77-78; XXVI, 52, 62, 81.
Boar. XXIV, 73.
Bone. XXV. 76, 87.
Brachycephaly at XXIV, 63.
Brick,
Glazed, XXII, 103.
Robbing, XXVI, 92, 95; XXVIII, 68, 70; XXIX, 102, 103, 104.
Bronze,
Adze-axe, XXVII, 76.
Axe blade, inscribed. XXVIII, 73.
Buffalo. XXVII, 70.
Dish. XXV, 89.
Hairpin. XXIX, 106.
Mirror. XVIII, 74.
Buddhist remains at, XXII, 102-103; XXIV, 63-64, 71; XXV, 74, 75-76; XXVI, 51; XXVII, 67, 68, 71.
Buffalo. XXIV, 73; XXVI, 79; XXVII, 70.
Surrounded by dead bodies. XXIX, 107.
Threatened by man with spear. XXIX, 109.
Bull. XXIV, 62, 65, 66, 71, 73; XXV, 78-86, 91, 96, 98; XXVI, 76, 77, 78, 81, 87.
Human headed. XXVI, 73; see also Semi-human, semi-animal figures with moveable head. XXV, 91.
Buttresses. XXVI, 89.
Carnelian. XXVI, 70, 73; XXV, 76, 98; XXVI, 76, 84.
Cereal, chaff of, XXV, 96.
Cess pits. XXV, 97; XXVI, 66, 80, 84, 87.
Chalcedony. XXIV, 72.
Chases
for flues. XXVI, 52,58.
for timber. XXV, 79, 80.

Chaupat pieces. XXIV, 73.
Chert and chert implements. XXIII, 52; XXIV, 64, 73; XXV, 76, 82, 86; XXVI, 66, 74, 84, 85, 86, 88.
Chessmen XXIV 61; XXV, 79, 88; XXVI, 68; see also Phallic emblems.
Chevron ornament. XXV, 82, 85.
Cinerary urns. XXIV, 63, 64, 66, 71. XXV, 79.
Cinnabar. XXIV, 73.
Colours used on pottery. XXIV, 72.
Columned hall. XXVI, 93-94, 95.
Composite creatures. XXIV, 64, 69; ZXXV, 80, 85, 86, 93, 95, 96; XXVIII, 75. See also Semi-human, semi-animal figures.
Conflagrations, evidence of. XXIV, 69; XXV, 78; XXVI, 83, 84.
Copper.
Amulets, seals and tablets. XXV, 97; XXVI, 67, 78, 82, 83, 86, 88; XXIX, 107, 108; see also copper pieces.
Antimony rods. XXVI, 84, 85.
Arrow heads. XXVI, 65, 66, 70.
Buttons, XXVI, 65, 73.
Fish hooks. XXVI, 65, 85.
Hook. XXVI, 86.
Jewellery, XXIV, 70, 73; XXV, 76, 85, 94, 96; XXVI, 67, 74, 77.
Knife. XXIX, 106.
Lamp. XXV, 93.
Objects. XXVIII, 73.
Pieces with figures, XXIV, 73; XXV, 95; XXVI, 78.
Pieces with pictographs. XXV, 78, 87.
Razors. XXVI, 92; XXIX, 106.
Ringstones. XXV, 79.
Saw. XXIV, 66.
Spear heads. XXIV, 67; XXV, 78; XXVI, 66, 74, 76, 78 80, 87.
Statuettes in round, XXV, 96; XXVI, 65, 81.
Tools and implements. XXIV, 67, 73; XXV, 76 et passim, XXVI, 65; et passim.
Utensils, XXIV, 62, 66, 67, 70, 73; XXV, 94; XXVI, 70, 74, 81.
Wire chain. XXVI, 69, 82.
Coppersmith's house. XXVI, 82.

Corbelling of:
arch, XXV 95; XXVI, 64.
doorway, XXVI, 73, 76.
drain, XXVI, 52, 76, 77.
window. XXVI, 88.
Cotton.
cloth, XXVI, 55, 65, 72; XXIX, 106.
thread. XXIV, 70.
Cremation. XXIV, 62, 63, 64.
Crocodile. XXIV, 64, 68; XXVI, 74; XXVIII, 73.
Crystal. XXIV 73; XXV, 76.
Cylinder seals. XXVII, 73; XXVIII, 73-74.
Date seeds, charred, XXVI, 86.
Disposal of the dead. XXIV, 62-63, 64; see also Human remains.
Dhyana-yogi pose of figures at, XXIX, 218.
Dice. XXIV; XXVI, 86.
Dog. XXIV, 73; XXVI, 77, 91.
Dolichocephaly at, XXIV, 72.
Domestic fowl. XXIV, 73.
Door sockets. XXVI, 63, 88.
Double axes. XXIV, 73.
Double-faced bearded head. XXV, 89.
Drain pipes. XXV, 83, 84.
Drains. XXIII, 51; XXIV, 61; XXV, 76 et passim; XXVI 62, et passim; XXVII, 69, 70, 74; XXVIII, 70, 71-72; XXIX, 98, 99, 100.
Drawings, XXIII, 141; XXIV, 176; XXV, 199, 200; XXVI, 245; XXVII, 195; XXVIII, 178.
Drill and graver; use of XXIX, 107.
Duck. XXIV, 73; XXIX, 29.
Ea-Bani figure resembling XXV, 96; XXVI, 58; XXVIII, 77.
Elephant. XXIV, 62, 64, 71; XXV, 80, 85, 86, 93, 95; XXVI, 77, 81; XXIX, 107.
Excavations. XXII, 102-4; XXIII, 47-52; XXIV, 60-73; XXV, 72-98; XXVI, 60-97; XXVII. 67-76; XXVIII 67-75; XXIX, 98-109.
Faience. XXIV, 61 et passim XXV 76 et passim XXVI 71 et passim XXIX, 107.
Fenestrated corridor. XXV. 77; XXVI, 51; XXVII, 69.
Fillets.
of gold, XXV 96; XXVI, 71, 74.
in headdress, XXV 82, 85,90.

Fireplace, XXIV, 69.
Fish-hooks, XXVI, 65, 85.
Flooding at, XXIV, 68; XXVIII, 68, 72-73; XXIX, 105-106.
Frescoes on stupa, XXII, 102-103.
Frog. XXV, 76.
Galena. XXIV, 73.
Geese, XXIX 73; XXVI, 72.
Gilgamish, figure resembling; XXV, 78, 96.
Glass beads. XXV, 76, 81.
Goat. XXIV, 64, 73; XXVIII, 74; XXIX, 107.
drawing vehicle. XXIV, 65.
Gold. XXIV, 62, 67, 70; XXV, 89-90, 96; XXVII, 70, 71, 74; see also fillets and jewellery.
Great Bath. XXV, 76-78, 79, 80; XXVI, 51-52; XXVII, 69.
Gypsum mortar. XXV, 77; XXVI, 51, 52, 62, 73.
Hearth. XXVI, 63.
Horned
deity in yoga attitude,. XXVIII, 74-75.
female deity with hind quarters of tiger, XXIX, 108-109.
human figures, XXV, 78, 93, 95, 96; XXVI, 58, 73; XXVIII, 74-75; XXIX, 108-109.
Horse
absent from seals. XXIV, 62.
figurine (?) XXVIII, 74.
Human remains. XXIV, 63, 69; XXV, 81, 82-83, 84-85, 94, 95, 96; XX, 64, 65, 67.
in wall cavity. XXIV, 67.
Ibex. XXIV, 65.
Indus sites in vicinity of, XXV. 100.
Ivory. XXIV, 67, 72, 73; XXV, 76 et passim; XXVI, 77 et passim; XXVIII, 74.
Jadeite. XXV, 89.
Jasper, XXV, 89.
Jewellery. XXIV, 63, 68, 69, 71; XXV, 65, 88-89; XXVI, 65, 70-71; see also copper, faience, gold, silver, zinc.
Kilns.
brick, XXVI, 64, 94.
for fring vitreous paste, XXVII, 75.
for pottery, XXVI, 64, 69-70; XXVII, 71,7 2, 75, 76.
KUSHAN
coins at XXII, 103, 104; XXIII, 48; XXVII, 69.
pottery, XXVII, 70.
reoccupation of site, XXVII, 70.

LATRINE or Rubbish Chute. XXV, 83.
LAPIDARY art at, XXIV, 73.
LAPIS LAZULI, XXVI, 67.
LEAD. XXIV, 62, 73; XXV, 76, 94.
LINGA. XXVI, 68, 73, 83, 84, see also Chessmen and phallic emblems.
LION, XXIV, 64, 72; XXV, 96; XXVI, 71.
MALACHITE green paint at, XXIV, 73.
MASONRY
deterioration of, in later strata, XXVIII, 67, 68.
superiority of, in Intermediate period, XXVIII, 68; XXIX, 106.
MERCURY. XXIV, 62, 65, 73.
MICA. XXVI, 86.
MONKEY. XXIV, 62, 65, 73.
MOTHER GODDESS at, XXIV, 64, 65, 66, 72.
MOTHER OF PEARL. XXV, 76; XXVI, 88.
MUD-BRICK FILLING. XXV, 80, 81; XXVI, 67, 79; XXVIII, 70, 73; XXIX, 104, 105.
NAGAS on Seals. at XXV, 89.
ORIENTATION of streets. XXIX, 101.
PARROT. XXIV, 71.
PERSISTENCE of one culture at XXVIII, 75.
PHALLIC EMBLEMS. XXV, 78-79, 86, 96; See also Chessmen and Linga.
PHOTOGRAPHS. XXIII, 140; XXIV, 174; XXV, 198; XXVI, 243; XXVII, 194; XXVIII, 177; XXIX, 239.
PICTOGRAPHIC SCRIPT. XXII, 103; XXIII, 47, 50, 51; XXIV, 62, 71-72; on bronze axe blade. XXVIII, 73.
PIPAL TREE
with tree goddess. XXVIII, 74.
With twin antelope heads. XXIV, 62, 65.
PLANS OF SITE, XXV, 75.
POTTERY. XXII, 103, 104; XXIII, 52; XXIV, 64, et passim; XXV, 87, et passim; XXVI, 86; et passim; XXVII, 66, 69.
PRIVIES at, XXVI, 62, 69, 79.
PUBLIC DRINKING PLACE. XXVI, 83.
RELIC CASKETS from, XXII, 103, 104.
RAM. XXV, 76, 80.
RED PAINT ON FIGURE. XXVI, 83.
RHINOCEROS. XXIII, 51; XXIV, 62, 64, 71, 72; XXV, 72, et passim; XXVI, 72, 74, 77, 78, 86.
RING STAND. XXV, 97; XXVI, 103.
RING STONES. XXIV, 61; XXV, 79-85; XXVI, 65, 68; XXVII, 67.

ROAD METAL. XXIX, 100-101.
ROOF OF REED-MAKING AND MUD? XXVIII, 69.
SEALS ON PLASTIC MATERIALS. XXIV, 66; XXIX, 108.
SEALS USED TO AUTHENTICATED DOCUMENTS. XXIV, 66.
SEALS AND SEALINGS. XXII, 103; XXIII, 47, 51, 52; XXIV, 62, et passim; XXVI, 65; et passim XXVII, 72, 73, 74; XXVIII, 73, 74-75; XXIX, 106, 107, 108, 109.
SEMI HUMAN, SEMI-ANIMAL FIGURES. XXV, 78, 93, 95, 96; XXVI, 58, 73; XXVIII, 74-75; XXIX, 107, 108, 109.
SEWAGE at,
disposal of, XXVI, 52;
pit. XXVI, 84.
SHEEP at, XXIV, 73.
SHELL at, XXII, 103; XXIV, 71, 72, 73; XXV, 76, et passim; XXVI, 73, 94, 95;
Extensive use of, XXIV, 73.
Inlay. XXVI, 72, 74, 94, 96.
Inlay of eye. XXV, 90.
SILVER
Bangles, XXIV, 62.
Earrings, XXIV, 70; XXV, 90.
Ring, XXVI, 72.
Vases, XXV, 89; XXVI, 65, 70.
Wire, XXIV, 70.
SITE.
Description, XXII, 102; XXIV, 61; XXV, 74.
Long abandonment of, XXIV, 63.
SIVA, on seal from. XXVIII, 74-75.
SKELETONS, found at. XXIV, 63, 69; XXV, 81, 84-85, 95; XXVI, 64, 67;
SOAK,
Jars, XXIX, 99.
Pits, XXV, 88; XXVI, 63; XXVII, 74.
SPINDLE WHORLS. XXIV, 73.
SQUIRRELS. XXIV, 66; XXV, 98; XXVI, 78.
STAGES. XXIV, 72.
STAIRS and STAIRCASES. XXIV, 65, 68; XXV, 77 et passim; XXVI, 62, et passim; XXVII, 69, 70, 74; XXVIII, 71-72.
STANDARD BEARERS ON A SEALING. XXV, 87.
STATUES,
Of alabaster, XXIV, 63; XXV, 85; XXVI, 96.
Heads of, XXIV, 63; XXV, 81, 82, 90-91; XXVI, 90, 97.
Unfinished. XXVII, 73.

STATUETTES OF COPPER.
Of dancing girl, XXV, 96; XXVI, 65, 81.
Of elephant. XXVI, 81.

STORE ROOMS.
With circular pits for vessels. XXVI, 95.
With conical depression for jars. XXVI, 63, 87; XXVII, 72.

STREETS and LANES. XXV, 80, et passim; XXVI, 61, et passim; XXVII, 68, 69; XXVIII, 70, 71; XXIX,98, et passim.

STUPA at, see Buddhist remains at.

SUBSIDENCES due to water clogging. XXIX, 78.

SVASTIKA, XXIV, 68; XXV, 86, 94; XXVI, 78.

TAHKHANAS. XXVI, 61, 77.

TERRACOTTA.
Cones, XXV, 76; XXVI, 68, 89, 92.
Figurines. XXII, 104; XXIII, 52; XXIV, 64, 72; XXV, 76, 87, 91, 94, 98; XXVI, 65, 66, 83, 85; XXVII, 73, 76; XXVIII, 74.

TIGER. XXIV, 62, 68, 71; XXV, 89. XXVI, 73.

TIMBER, used for roofing, XXV, 78, 79.

TOYS, XXIII, 52; XXIV, 66, 70, 72-73; XXV, 76, 91; XXVI, 74, 85.
See also Terracotta figurines.

TREE WORSHIP at, XXIV 65; XXVIII, 74.

TREFOIL PATTERN. XXV, 90.

UNICORN on seals. XXII, 103; XXV, 86; XXVI, 69, 74, 76, 78, 81, 82, 83; XXVIII, 75; XXIX, 109.

UPPER STOREYS. XXV, 84, 88; XXVI, 64, 68, 76, 77.

VITREOUS PASTE. XXIV, 62, 71.

VULTURE, XXIX, 107.

WALL NICHES for wind scoops. XXVII, 73.

WATER CHUTES. XXIV, 66; XXV, 76, 88, 95; XXVI, 67, 76, 80, 81, 87; XXVIII, 72; XXIX, 100.

WATER LEVEL. XXIX, 64, 67; XXV, 88; XXVI, 66.

WEIGHTS.
large conical. XXV, 97.
stone cubes, XXIII, 52; XXIV, 73; XXV, 91-93; XXVI, 65, 74, 87, 88.
table of, XXV, 92-93.
no relation with Babylonian and Phenician standards, XXV, 92.

WELLS. XXIII, 51; XXIV, 61, et passim; XXV, 82, et passim, XXVI, 62, et passim; XXVII, 75, 76; XXVIII, 67, 71; XXIX, 102, 103-104, 105.
inside rooms, XXVI, 63.
long continued use of. XXIX, 105.
WHEAT found at. XXVI, 54, 96.
WHISTLE IN FORM OF BIRD, XXVI, 74.
WINDOWS, XXV, 81, 82. See also Fenestration.
WOOD,
as lining for niches. XXVI, 63.
planks as step-treads. XXV, 77; XXVI, 52.
thresholds. XXVI, 63.
YOGI FIGURE. XXIX, 192.
ZINC JEWELLERY. XXV, 81.
MOHENJODARO MUSEUM. XXVI, 61; XXVII, 19,194; XXVIII, 177; XXIX, 202-203.
MOTHER GODDESS.
in Baluchistan, XXVII, 109, 171, 173, 175, 176
at Indus sites. XXVI, 58-59. See also Mohenjodaro.
MUHAMMAD MASUM of BAKKAR, Akbar's scribe. XXV, 129.
MUHAMMAD QASIM; invasion of Sind by. XXIX, 161.
NAOKOT, fort at. XXVIII, 31.
NATHAPANTHI shrine in Sind. XXI, 18.
NECROPOLIS ON MAKLI HILLS near TATTA. XIX, 10.
PHALLIC EMBLEMS AT INDUS SITES. XXV, 78-79; XXVI, 58, 68, see Mohenjodaro.
PURI, K.N. Excavations at Mohenjodaro by, XXV, 74; XXVI, 60.
RING STANDS. at Harappa and Mohenjodaro, q. v.
RING STONES at Mohenjodaro, q. v.
ROHRI.
Oldest Masjid in Sind at, XXI, 18.
Satyan-jo-than Shrine at. XXI, 18; XXVI, 24; XXVIII, 31.
Shrines and tombs at. XXI, 18; XXVI, 24; XXVIII, 31.
SAHNI, D. R.
at Mohenjodaro. XXV, 93-98; XXVI, 60-88.
SANA ULLAH, M. (Archaeological Chemist).
Analyses of Harappa and Mohenjodaro antiquities. XXVI, 70, 102; XXVII, 85; XXVIII, 83; see also Analyses.
On copper and bronze from Mohenjodaro. XXVII, 180-181.
On weights from Mohenjodaro. XXV, 92.
On zinc ornaments from Mohenjodaro. XXV, 81.

SAYCE, A.H. On Indus Valley Antiquities, XXIII, 48.
SEALS.
At Mohenjodaro used for stamping, XXIV, 66.
Pictographic, at Indus sites, see Chanhudaro, Harappa, Jhukar, and Mohenjodaro.
SIND
Ancient sites in. XXIX, 110-121.
Brahmanical and Buddhist monuments in, XXIX, 161.
Conquest of. XXII, 104.
Discoveries in XXIII, 1; see also Indus culture.
Prehistoric sites in XXIX, 110, 113-115; see also Amri, Chanudaro, Jhukar and Mohenjodaro.
SIVA. At Indus sites, XXVI, 58; XXVIII, 74-75.
SMITH, SYDNEY. On Indus Valley Antiquities, XXIII, 48.
SOAK PITS. At Mohenjodaro, q. v.
SPINDLE WHORLES at Indus sites. XXIV, 73; XXVI, 55.
STEIN, SIR AUREL. On Alexander's Track to the Indus by, XXVII, 163; XXVIII, 149.
STONE, varieties at Mohenjodaro. XXIV, 73.
TALC Coating on Indus Valley seals, XXVIII, 154.
TALPUR MIRS; tomb of; at Hyderabad. XXVI, 240.
TATTA; conservation of tombs at. XXVI, 25; XXIX, 37.
TERRACOTTA, Cones at Indus sites. XXIV, 74, 76; XXVII, 79.
THUL. Buddhist stupa at. XXIX, 116.
TREES. Worship of at Indus sites; XXVI, 58; see also Harappa and Mohenjodaro.
VATS, M.S.
Excavations at Mohenjodaro. XXIII, 51-52; XXIV, 123; XXV, 72, 73, 74, 93; XXVI, 61, 63, 64, 70.
WILSON, SIR LESLIE. Active interest in Sind Excavations of, XXV, 73.

Index to the Annual Reports of the Director General of Archaeology in India. Part I.—1902-1918.

Subject relating to Sind.

BHANDARKAR, D. R. Excavations at Mirpurkhas. XVI (1916-17), 14.
COUSENS, H.
Drawings of Sindh tilework by, IV (1904-1905), 5.
Mirpurkhas excavations, IX (1909-10), 6, 8; X, 2.
Portfolio of Sindh Tiles by. VII (1907-1908), 9.
JAMI MASJID. Tatta, XVIII (1918-19), 6.
MIRPUR KHAS STUPA.
Excavation at IX, 6; XVI, 14.
Protection of, IX, 3.
Reliquary. IX, 6.
SIND TILES. IV, 5; VII, 9.
TATTA. Conservation at; XIV, 9; XVIII, 6.
TILE WORK IN SIND. IV, 5; VII, 9.

NICHOLAS WITHINGTON'S ROUTE

between Nagar Parkar and Tatta in 1613-14.

By B. D. MIRCHANDANI, I.C.S.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on the 29th October*, 1941.)

Nicholas Withington, in his account of the overland journey from Gujrat into Sind which he made in 1613-14, mentions a number of places between Nagar Parkar and Tatta which are not easily identifiable today. I am able to identify only one of them. Perhaps some of the members of the Historical Society more familiar with the topography of Lower Sind can help in the identification of others.

The overland journey from Ahmedabad to Tatta, 300 years ago, was a perilous adventure. Only one Englishman before Withington had crossed that way into Sind. He was Starkey who reached Tatta in safety in the early part of 1613, but died there shortly afterwards. No account of his journey is extant. Nicholas Withington undertook the journey a few months after Starkey. His experience in Sind was an unhappy one. Travelling by way of Kalol, Radhanpur and along the edge of the Rann of Cutch, in company with some Indian merchants, Withington reached Nagar Parkar safely, but between that place and Tatta the whole party was treacherously set upon by a local chief who had undertaken to act as its guide and protector. The Indian merchants were robbed and murdered. Withington's life was spared, but he was not allowed to proceed to Tatta. He was sent back under escort to Nagar Parkar from where he found his way to Ahmedabad in the greatest misery.

Foster in his "Early Travels in India" remarks that it is not possible to identify the various stages of Withington's journey through Lower Sind. According to him, however, Juno, "half a day's journey from Tutta" is very probably Juma on the Indus, 8 miles below Tatta.

It is not necessary for my purpose to set out in full Withington's account of the journey through Sind. I will refer only to such passages and details in his narrative as might be helpful in identifying the places. There s no difficulty about the identification of "Negar Parkar," the first place in Sind on

Withington's route, which he reached on 28th December 1613. He describes it as "a poore towne, yet with good store of provisions for travellers." "This towne (wherein wee stayed a daye to refreshe ourselves and then departed, payinge a toule (toll) for our cammells ladinge) payeth a yearelye tribute to the Mogull. All the reste betweene that and Juno, which is halfe a day's journey from Tutta, paye none, neither acknowledge any kinge but themselves, robbinge and sparinge whom they liste. When an armye of the Mogull's cometh againste them, they fyer theire howses and flye into the mountayns, theire howses being made of strawe and morter, in the fashion of beehives, which are soone burnte and soone upp agayne. They have a custome to guard passengers (when they have taken from them what they please, under culour of custome) till they be fourth of theire territoryes, takinge it in fowle disgrace to have anye other but themselves to rob anye man within theire command." Nagar Parkar had a population of 2,355 at the census of 1872 and 3,354 at the census of 1911. "This town," according to the Sind Gazeteer, "is believed to be of some antiquity, and the existence of several ruined tanks in and about it seem to indicate a more prosperous condition in times gone by than is the case at present." Withington's account confirms the antiquity of the place but it does not appear from his description that it was either very populous or prosperous at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

From Nagar Parkar Withington came to Burdiano, covering a distance of 24 'courses' in three marches. A later version of the account describes the place as "a little village called Burdiaws, seated on a hill."

"Here we payed customs for our goods, stayinge there a daye and better, manye of our companye beeinge sicke with drinking of theire water, which is brackish. And my owne provision of water beeinge spente, I was forced to drink this of theirs, but I mingled yt with buttermilke, whereof there is good store. Of this water, as bad as yt ws, wee laded our cammells for four dayes journey, theire beeinge none to bee had in all that way."

Travelling 57 courses by stages Withington arrived on 6th January at Nuraquimire——"a pretie towne." "This town," he writes, "is within three dayes of Tutta, and seemed to us after our desart a Paradise." From there he travelled another 10 courses to Gundajaw or Gundayaw "a little town full

of robbers." The next place on his journey was Sarrune "a great towne of the Rasbooches (Rajputs) with a castle in yt, some 14 course from Tutta."

On the way from Gundajaw two bands of robbers attempted to rob his party, but meeting with brave resistance agreed to let them go unmolested for a small fee. At Sarrune Withington visited "the Governor, called Ragee Bowma, the eldest sonne of Sultan Bull Bull of the caste of the kings of Synda, until Synda was conquered from his predecessors by the Persians. This Sultan Bull Bull was latelye taken prisoner by the Mogull, who pulled out his eyes; yet not longe after hee escaped thence and came hether, livinge now uppon the mountaynes, and hath given his sonnes and kyndred charge to revenge the losse of his eyse of all passengers they can light on belonginge to the Mogull (but this I heard not of till afterwards). Soe this Ragee entertayned us verye kyndlye, sayinge hee was glad wee had escaped from them that would have troubled us; biddinge us take heede, for though wee were but 14 course from our journeyes end, yet there was much daunger on the way. He was expeciallye kynde to mee, seeinge mee a white man and of a farr countrye (as my interpriter tould mee); and asked me manye questions of the state of my countrye, takinge much delight to heare thereof; and at my companions departure willed me to stay with him, makinge mee suppe there and giving mee much wyne, drinkinge both together in one cupp till hee was allmoste staw-ed, and then sente mee to my companye, and much victuals with mee". This local chief whose identity I am unable to trace agreed to conduct Withington and the merchants accompanying him in safety to Tatta, but on the way treacherously dealt with the whole party as already described.

De Laet, the Flemish Geographer and Director of the Dutch East India Company compiled and published his "De Imperio Magni Mogolis" in 1631. Therein he describes the route from Ahmedabad to Laribandar which is evidently based on Nicholas Withington's account of the journey. He, however, spells the place names slightly differently: Nuraquimire is spelt as Nuraquimiron; Gundajaw as Gundaiuw; Sarrune as Saruna and Juno as Inne. (De Laets Empire of the Great Mogol by Hoyland and Banerjee, pp. 67-68).

Is Burdiano or Burdiaws the present-day Badin or Badino, as it is sometimes called? Badin is an ancient place in lower Sind. The present town, which dates from 1750 A.D., is built

on the ruins of an older one; and two mosques among the ruins still bear Hijri dates corresponding to 1234 and 1579 A.D. (Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, B. Vol. II, Hyderabad District, 1920). A glance at the map shows that Badin lies on the way between Nagar Parkar and Tatta, and is linked by a trunk road with Rahim-ka-Bazaar on the borders of the Rann of Cutch (Sind Gazetteer by Hughes, 1876, p. 122). The only serious objection to Badin is on the score of distance. It is more than 100 miles from Nagar Parkar whereas Withington's Burdiano was only 23 courses from the latter place. A 'course' is the same as the Indian Kos, or Sindhi Koh, ('S' becomes 'H' in Sindhi, *e.g.* Phasi becomes Phahi; Gujarati Chas becomes Chah in Sindhi—Indian Blue Jay) which is 1½ or 2 miles. Did Withington make a mistake about the distance? That does not seem likely, though he compiled his narrative not immmediately, but 3 or 4 years after he made the journey. Burdiano is described as 3 days' march from Nagar Parkar and Withington gives the distance covered each day. It is improbable that with his laden camels his progress could have been so rapid as to bring him into Badin in 3 days. Also, it appears from his account that the rest of the journey from Burdiano to the neighbourhood of Tatta took 7 days, exclusive of the periods of rest on the way. Badin to Tatta, by road, is not more than 65 to 70 miles *i.e.* about 35 to 40 courses. Nuraquimire, the next place on Withington's journey towards Tatta was alone 57 courses. Badin, therefore, must be ruled out of consideration.

We must look for Burdiano somewhere nearer Nagar Parkar, perhaps in Mithi Taluka of Thar Parkar District. The map of that Taluka is not available to me, and I am therefore unable to say whether there is any village answering or approaching the name of Burdiano. The maps of Sind with me, including one printed in 1885, however show a Borli or Borelee whose situation and distance from Nagar Parkar make it not unlikely that it is Burdiano of Withington. Borli is 34 miles from Nagar Parkar and on the trade route between Nagar Parkar and Umarkot which Withington must have followed part of the way. (Gazetteer of the Province of Sind by A. W. Hughes, 2nd edition, 1876, p. 925). It is possible that the name of the village in Sindhi or rather in Thari dialect is Buldee or Buldeah with cerebral 'l' and 'd' which Englishmen, and even many Sindhis find it difficult to pronounce and invariably make it into simple 'r' or 'l'. (Haig in his book "The Indus Delta Country at p. 36" also remarks that the English "detest a palatal "d".) I wish someone will make a local inquiry

into the name and the antiquity of the villlage, and also ascertain if it is situated on a hill. If this identification of Burdiano with Borli is correct, it indicates that Withington's course was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and not 2 miles. In a marginal note to the account of Withington's journey published in 1734 also a course is described as "a mile and a half Englishe."

I am not definitely able to identify Nuraquimire or Gundajaw, the next two places on Withington's route. It is possible that Nuraquimire and Gundajaw are Mhayra Koorguree and Peer Gholam Shah which appear in a map of Sind of 1855. These two places are on the road beteween Nawakote and Tatta which Withington must have very probably taken. Their distance from Borli is roughly the same as stated by Withington. There is also a Gholam-Haidar-Khan-Ka-Tanda a few miles before Peer Gholam Shah and it may be that Gundajaw is identifiable with that village. However, I do not know whether Gholam Shah and Gholam-Haidar are new villages or were in existence at the time of Withington. If these places are of recent date, then this identification cannot be correct.

The Rajputs at Sarunne or Saruna were evidently Sammas who had supplanted the Sumras in the Delta country about the beginning of the 14th century. Their chief town was Samui. Similarly of sound between Sarrune and Samui may incline one to identify the former with the town of Sammas, but it is improbable that Sarrune of Nicholas Withington was Samui. The ruins of Samui lie 4 miles north-west of Tatta. (Cf. Alexander Burne's Cabool p. 18). Sarrune, on the other hand was 14 courses (21 miles) from Tatta, and must have been south, east or south-east of it and not to the north-west. Samui therefore must be ruled out of consideration. In the map of Sind of 1855 referred to before appears Sayranee a few miles after Peer Gholam Shah. Its distance from Tatta is about 30 miles. It may be the Sarrune of Withington.

SOME REFERENCES TO SIND IN A CHINESE WORK OF THE 13th CENTURY

BY B.D. MIRCHANDANI, I.C.S.

An important Chinese work which has not received much notice at the hands of Indian scholars is Chu-fan-chi *i.e.* 'A Description of Barbarous Peoples' or 'Records of Foreign Nations.' The work was compiled by one Chau Ju-Kua sometime in the middle of the 13th century and deals with the ethnography and trade of his time. "As throwing light on the medieval trade with the Far East, then in the hands of Arabs or Persian merchants, his notes compete successfully with those of Marco Polo and the early Arab and Christian travellers." Chau Ju-Kua was not a traveller, as described by Radhakumud Mookerji in his History of Indian Shipping, and his notes are not based on personal observation. He was an Inspector of Maritime Trade at the port of Ts'uan-chou, which position afforded him opportunities for obtaining information on the subject from foreign sailors and traders who frequented that port. These foreign sailors and traders were mostly Arabs and it is, therefore, not surprising that his statements often agree with the narratives of medieval Arab writers. In compiling his work Chau Ju-Kua also made extensive use of earlier Chinese writings on the subject, especially one by Chou-Ku-fei dated 1178 A.D.

Chau Ju-Kua's work is translated into English by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill and published by the Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg, in 1911. The translators have added valuable notes on the text in the volume.

Chau Ju-Kua's work helps to supplement our knowledge of medieval India, especially of the west coast, derived from Arab travellers and geographers. It has chapters on T'ien-chu (Madras Coast), Nan-p'i (Malabar), Hu-ch'a--la (Gujerat), Ma-lo-hu (Malwa) and Chu-lie'n (Chola Dominion or Coromandel Coast), but no chapter on Sind, though that province from its situation on the maritime trade route between the Far East and the Persian Gulf must have been familiar to the sailors and traders. An earlier Chinese geographer, Kia Tan, who lived from about 730 to 805 A.D., however, does make a reference to Sind in his account of the sea-route from Canton to the Persian Gulf.

"Then going ten days, and passing....five small countries, one comes to the country of Ti-yu, in which country is the great river Mi-lan, also called the Sin-t'ou river. It comes from the mountains of P'o-lun in the north and flows westward; on arriving north of the country of Ti-yu it empties into the sea."

Mi-lan is the same as Mihran or Nahr Mihran by which Arabs knew the Indus. The Chinese had hitherto known it by its Indian name of Sindhu. Hirth and Rockhill suggest that Ti-yu is Taiz of medieval Arab geographers. According to Abulfeda (II Pt. 2, III, Reinauds translation) Taiz was the port on the Indus for the Mekran and adjacent countries. It may perhaps represent Daibul which was on the Indus at its mouth, and which was the principal port of Sind in medieval times.

Besides the provinces mentioned above, according to Chau Ju-Kua, "the remaining countries (of India), Nan-ni-hua-lo and others, are more than a hundred in number; they are all included under the term of 'Western' (literally, Western Heaven)." He gives the following description of Nan-ni-hua-lo which is based on the earlier work of Chou-Ku-fei:

"Nan-ni-hua-lo city has a triple wall. The inhabitants morning and evening bathe and besmear their bodies with yu-kin (turmeric) so as to look like golden coloured images (lit., Buddhas). A large proportion of them are called P'o-lo-mon (Brahmans), as they are genuine descendants of Fo."

"The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they set up altars, three feet high and which are reached by three steps, and on which daily in the morning they burn incense and offer flowers; this is called the offering to Fo."

"When Arab (Ta-shi) foreigners come to this country, they give them seats outside the doors and lodge them in separate houses supplied with bedding and household utensils."

"When a woman is guilty of adultery she is put to death, and the officials make no enquiry about it."

"The native products include the best quality of putchuck, and fine while flowered (or dotted) cotton stuffs. The people eat much butter, rice, beans and vegetables; they rarely eat fish or meat."

"A road leads to the Western Regions (Si-yu); when there are raids (on Nan-ni-hua-lo?) by the light horsemen of the Western Regions, the only resistance they offer is to lock their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and (the raiders) withdraw of their own accord."

The fact that it produced the best putchuck and was exposed to the attacks of the light horsemen of the West induced Hirth and Rockhill to think that Nan-ni-hua-lo was a place in Sind. It however, seems to me obvious that Nan-ni-hua-lo is no other than Anahilvada Patan in North Gujerat. Colonel G. F. Gerini, writing in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1911, pp. 437-445, also identifies it with Anahilvada. The Arabs knew it as Nahrwara which name our Chinese author has made into Nan-ni-hua-lo. The Moroccan geographer Al Idrisi gives an account of the kingdom of Anahilvada based on earlier Arab writings, which bears out many of the statements of Chau Ju-Kua (See Elliot & Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians, vol. I).

Anahilvada was founded in 746 A.D., and two hundred years later became the seat of the Solanki or Chaulukya kings of Gujerat. Under Siddharaja Jayasingha (1094-1143) it was the most powerful and the richest kingdom of India whose authority was acknowledged by "two-and-twenty principalities ..from the Carnatic to the base of the Himalaya mountains." Mahmud of Ghazni raided it in 1024 A.D. during his expedition against Somnath, and "the wealth extracted by this scourge of India....., though deemed incredible, would obtain belief, if the commercial riches of Anhilwara could be appreciated. It was to India what Venice was to Europe, the entrepot of the products of both the eastern and western hemispheres." (Tod's Rajasthan, Vol.I, p. 117). Anhilvada recovered from the shock and for the next two centuries and a half continued to play a prominent part. In 1297 it passed into the hands of Alaudin Khilji. "The lieutenants of the Tartar despot of Delhi," to use again the picturesque language of Tod, "let loose the spirit of intolerance and avarice on the rich cities and fertile plains of Gujerat and Saurashtra....The walls of Anhilwara were demolished, its foundations excavated, and again filled

up with the fragments of their ancient temples." The old ruins, which I visited last year, bear silent witness to the former magnificence and opulence of the places.

Chau Ju-Kua's Si-yu (Western Regions) refers obviously to our province, though it is not possible to say whether the term is a corruption of its Indian name. His statement about there being a road to Sind is borne out by Ibn Haukal who informs us that from Mansura to Anahilwada was 8 days' journey and from there to Cambay another four. The raids from the west on Anahilvada of which Chau Ju-Kua speaks refer probably to the attacks by the Arab chiefs of Mansura and Multan, who, after the decline of the authority of the Abbasids, had made themselves independent of the Caliphate or to the raids of the Sumra tribesmen who later established themselves to the overlordship of Sind. The Hindu records of Gujerat supply evidence of wars between the Solanki princes of Anahilvada and the rulers of Sind. In the reign of Mulraja (A.D. 961-996) the Sind ruler had supported the ruler of Sorath against the Solanki. Bhim I (A.D. 1022-1064), the fourth Solanki ruler, according to Dvyasraya of Hemachandra, had led a victorious campaign against the Sind ruler Hammuka. That name sounds, and very probably is, Hindu as we learn that Mahmud after his sack of Somnath actually "intended to proceed against Mansura in central Sindh whose ruler was an apostate Muhammadan" (Bombay Gazeteer, Vol. I, part I, pp. 160, 163 and 167).

Putchuck, to which Chau Ju-Kua makes a reference, grows neither in Sind nor in Gujerat, but was only exported abroad from there. It is a native of the high valleys of Himalayas and was an important export from the ports of Sind and Gujerat when the author of Periplus wrote, and probably ages before his times, as it was well known to the Hebrews who called it ketzioth, which is derived from the Sanskrit name, kushtha, which is the original of the Latin costus. It is the root of Saussurea lappa which grows on the open slopes of the vale of Kashmir at elevations of 8,000 to 13,000 feet. The root was dug up and cut into small pieces and shipped both to Rome and China. In the Roman Empire it was used as a culinary spice and in making perfumes. Large quantities are even to-day exported from Kashmir to China and Japan where it is used as incense. Hamilton who visited Sind at the close of the 17th century writes:

"The wood Lingna dulcis grows only in this country. It is rather a weed than a wood, and nothing of it is useful but the root, called Putchock, or, Radix dulcis. I never heard it is used in physick, but is a good ingredient in the composition of perfumes. There are great quantities exported for Surat, and from thence to China, where it generally bears a good price; for being all idolaters, and burning incense before their images, this root beaten into fine powder.....will burn a long time like a match, sending forth a fine smoke, whose smell is very grateful...."

Hamilton obviously seems to have been misinformed about the place from where putchuk came. It was not a product of Sind, but was only exported from there.

WAS AKBAR LITERATE?

By N. M. Billimoria.

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on* 29-10-41.)

Many modern writers have stated that Akbar was unlettered. Von Noer in his 'Kaisar-Akbar' states that Akbar was absolutely illiterate. V. A. Smith in his work "Akbar the Great Mogul" writes that "Akbar resisted all attempts to give him book-learning so successfully that to the end of his life he was unable even to read or sign his own name." He adds that "no tutor could make him pay attention to books, even so far as to learn the alphabet." Beveridge in his 'Akbarnama' holds the same view, and Muhammad Hosain Azad in his Darbar-i-Akbari supports him. Mulla Abdul Kadir Badaumi refers to Akbar as not being a learned man. Akbar's own official Nizamuddin in his Tabaqat-i-Akbari is silent on the point. Jehangir himself in his autobiography speaks about the illiteracy of his father. He says: ' My father always associated with the learned men of every creed and religion especially with the Pundits and the learned of India, and in his conversation with them, no one knew him to be ommi (illiterate), and he was so acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose composition that this deficiency was not thought of." The Portuguese writers are also clear on the point. Father Monserrat says: "he can neither read nor write, but he is very curious and has always men of letters about him." Father Xavier remarks "he can neither read nor write."

Akbar was wandering about with his father Humayun and that did not leave any continuous length of time to devote himelf to his books. Even at his advanced age, when he had a great love for books; books were read before him and he did not read himself.

Dr. N. N. Law was the first person to write against this charge of illiteracy.

What about family traces. In the house of Timur every member had literary taste. Institutes of Timur is a monumental work of this cruel Ruler. Babarnama and Baber's songs and compositions are still a joy to many. "Humayun nama" is the excellent biography from princess Gulbadan Begum. Humayun had great love for books, for his death occurred through a fall from the steps of his library, at an advanced

age. If the historians state that Akbar had a reluctance to learn the alphabets, as V. A. Smith would make us believe,.. Akbar was a lusus naturae, a freak of nature, when he was in company of Humayun and Gulbadan Begum.

In his young age, Akbar had three teachers, one after the other. They seem to have done well. But Akbar was more bent on pigeon-flying and athletic exercises, but the three teachers, during eight years, were not able to make Akbar learn the alphabets cannot be believed.

When Akbar was actually on the throne he had Abdul Latif as his tutor; Baduini says with Abdul Latif "he began reading Diwan of Mystic language." Even Abul Fazl tells us that "Among books of poetry he reads fluently Maulavi's Masnavi and Diwan of the mystic tongue and takes delight in their beauties."

Then why did Jahangir call Akbar "Ommi"? The word means "Utterly illiterate". The same word is used for the Prophet Mahomed, for he had no learning except what he had received from his mother. By the 16th century the word had undergone a change, and was used only for a man who had no knowledge of Arabic.

Abul Fazl is silent about his master's learning; he says "For Akbar who is God's pupil what occasion is there for teaching by creatures, or application to lessons?" Accordingly Akbar's holy heart and his sacred soul never turned towards external teaching."

Abdul Fazl writes that every page the readers daily stop, his majesty marks with his own pen a sign according to the number of pages; that shows he knew figures and could check accounts.

Akbar took great interest in calligraphy; in his court there were great calligraphists like Abdulla, Abdul Haq, Idris Hosein Munshi. Abul Fazl writes that Akbar takes great interest in different systems of writing; he paid much attention to the art of writing and is an excellent judge of calligraphy and painting. He often gave prizes according to the beauty of writing. Muhammad Hosain was given the title of "Zaarrin Qalam," golden pen. Unless he knew how to write, how can he take great interest in different forms of writing.

In Ain, it is expressly written that "other Sanads are at first signed and sealed by the ministers of State and are afterwards laid before His Majesty for signature. Certainly the signatures were of his own hand.

Though he knew to read and write, he employed readers for himself. This is a common practice with the house of Timur. The historian Arab Shah tells us that Timur appointed readers to read books before him every evening; and we know that Timur was a learned man. It is possible that Akbar's handwriting was not good; perhaps he had no time to devote to calligraphy owing to other pre-occupations.

The autograph of Akbar has been found in a valuable manuscript of Zafarnama. This copy contains on the fly-leaf the autographs of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. In Akbar's handwriting the word Furvurdin is written.

There is yet another reference to the handwriting of Akbar. It is in Ma'asir-i-Rahimi of Abul Baqi Nahawandi who composed his work in A.D. 1616. After the head line, the author gives the actual words used by Akbar; Copy of the Royal autograph which was translated above Tughra in the actual handwriting of the vice-regent of God (*i.e.* Akbar) in which he exalted him (Khankhanan) with the title of a son."

Akbar not only knew Persian but could understand difficult composition in that language.

Badauni had translated Rajatarangini (History of the Kings of Cashmere). Akbar rejected the translation as the Persian words used were archaic and ordered Badauni to retranslate it.

Akbar used to give prizes to poets Faizi, Nizam and others according to the intricacies and delicacies of style. It is possible to understand Persian without reading, but without perfect knowledge of the literature in that language it is not possible to understand the style of a poet like Faizi.

Akbar not only knew Persian but could also follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi.

Before building the Abadat Khana Akbar passed much time in discussing the Quran and Hadis; it is not possible to discuss the Quran and Hadis which were in Arabic unless he knew the language.

When the monogram of seal and coins was recast, he ordered that the seal be embossed in Arabic.

Badauni relates that "For two nights His Majesty translated some passages of the Mahabharata and told Naquib Khan to write down the general meaning in Persian. Translation would have been impossible if the Emperor did not know Sanskrit.

A nice couplet is attributed to Akbar; I give the translation; "Last night I reached the street of wine sellers;I purchased wine for high price. I am suffering from headache (due to wine); I paid my money and purchased headache.

Akbar was not only well versed in Persian, the then court language, but also could follow Arabic, Sanskrit and Hindi.

I am indebted for the above to a paper by Mr. M. R. Shastri, whose final sentence I quote: "The account of his early life and the attempts of Humayun and his teachers for his education, his discussions in the Hall of Worship and his interest and actual participation in the literary pursuits give the direct lie to the fiction of his illiteracy.

POST OFFICE IN SIND ITS EARLY HISTORY

BY "ZAARRIN QULAM"

(*Read before the Sind Historical Society on the 27th November,* 1941.)

It is an old boast, perhaps more often heard and certainly more widely believed in Sind than elsewhere, that what Sind thinks today, Bombay and the rest of the world will think tomorrow. No patriotic Sindhi therefore is in the least surprised to read in the Sind Gazeteer that the postage stamp was first introduced into India in Sind or rather (one should say) from Sind since in those days Sind and India were still regarded as separate contiguous countries of approximately equal importance. Nor will he be surprised to learn that since the control of postal affairs in Sind has been taken away from the local authorities, it now costs twice as much to send a letter from Karachi to Hyderabad or Sukkur as it did seventy five years ago.

It was in February, 1852, that Mr. Frere, afterwards Sir Bartle Frere, as Commissioner in Sind, first obtained a reluctant assent to the institution, experimentally for one year, of a Horse Dak between Karachi and Hyderabad at a monthly cost of Rs. 1,750. Very shortly afterwards in opposition to the generally accepted opinion amongst experienced officials in India, Frere came to the conclusion that it was possible to introduce the system of prepayment by postage stamps, which was by that time well established in England. Sind, which had been conquered less than ten years before and was an outlying province still very loosely administered seemed hardly a promising area in which to make such an experiment; but Frere was convinced that the system was practicable and he determined that it should be tried. With the assistance of Mr. Coffey, who became Postmaster of Karachi on a monthly salary of Rs. 150, he designed a postage stamp which bore a broad arrow and the words "Scinde District Dawk." The stamps were printed in three colours and were placed on sale at all district and taluka headquarters, where the Kardars (mukhtiarkars) were ordered to receive for despatch letters which were fully stamped. Letters weighing half a tola or less had to bear a half anna stamp, an additional half anna being required for each half tola; this charge covered their transmission to any post office in Sind.

OFFICERS LUKEWARM

Local officers were at first lukewarm, or mildly antagonistic; they had always said that the system could not succeed in India, and "I told you so" was the general tenor of their early reports on its failure to catch on. The Collector of Karachi, a district then extending as far north as Sehwan, reported that the total receipts from the sale of stamps up to the end of April 1852 were only two rupees, fifteen annas, and six pies. The Collector of Upper Sind plaintively objected that in spite of the new stamps, letterwriters still insisted on sending their letters "bearing." But a report of the receipts for June 1852 gave Frere both his encouragement and his opportunity. While the receipts for Sukkur and Shikarpur were nil, and those from Karachi only just over six rupees, the sales at Hyderabad had reached the giddy height of fiftyseven rupees, twelve annas and six pies. A few words of judicious praise to the Collector of Hyderabad and of pained surprise at the lack of persuasiveness of other officers made it obvious that the Commissioner's new fad was to be taken seriously, and from this time onwards the sales of postage stamps made continuous progress.

SCINDE DISTRICT DAWK

The orders issued by Frere from time to time indicate the early difficulties which beset the new system. It was the custom of Zamindars and others who stood in well with local officials to hand over their letters to be transmitted with the ordinary official post and orders had to be issued strictly forbidding the kardars to accept letters other than those "on Service" unless they were duly stamped. Then the monopoly of the Sirkar had to be enforced by forbidding private "kossids" or messengers to carry letters for the general public as apart from their own employers. As early as June, 1852, regulations had to be issued against the "clubbing" of letters by the thrifty bania; clubbing was the practice of including five or six letters intended for different persons but included in a cover addressed to one individual. The detailed instructions issued for the defacing of stamps will explain to the lucky possessors of the now rare "Scinde District Dawk" stamps the thorough nature of their cancellation. "The kardar before despatching will deface the stamp with the erasing stamp, to accomplish which he must rub a little ink on the rough face of the brass, then place it firmly on the stamp to be scored, and give the wooden handle a slight twist which will so deface it as to render it impossible to be again used."

No sooner had the postage stamp established itself firmly than Frere was thinking of further developments, such as the institution of Pillar-boxes and of local deliveries. In October 1852 he wrote to the Postmaster in Sind asking him to consider whether the Karachi Post Office and the branch which it was proposed to open at the Custom House might not undertake to deliver letters with a postage stamp affixed in the station and its neighbourhood, after the manner of the Penny Post in England. It was suggested that boxes for such stamped letters might be fixed at the Custom House Shed, Kiamari and at some place in Manora, the stamp covering them if they were intended either for local delivery in Karachi or for transmission by post to any post office in Sind.

THE CAMEL TRAIN

Experiments were also being continuously made to improve and speed up the actual conveyance of the letters. One of the most interesting of these was the institution, in August 1854, of the "Camel Train" between Karachi and Multan., via Sehwan, Larkana, Shikarpur, Sukkkur, Subzalkot and Bahawalpur, with branches to Hyderabad, Kotri, and Jacobabad. The organisation of this train, which was worked by relays of camels over beats of about twelve miles each, gave great trouble to the indefatigable Mr. Coffey who by this time was Postmaster in Sind on a monthly salary of two hundred and fifty rupees. He complained bitterly of the lighthearted way in which the Sindhi Jat took off his camels from the beat on any or no pretext, and urged that if the Postmaster were allowed to commandeer camels for the conveyance of the mails on payment, this would not be more than a reasonable service to exact from the jats in return for the security which the pax Britannica had brought to their grazing grounds. This was not an argument which appealed to Frere, then busy in breaking down the system of forced labour on which the Ameers' Government had relied for all their public activities. More reasonable was Mr. Coffey's complaint of the lack of sympathy and help from other departments. One officer, it appears, bound on a shooting expedition, had "puckaroed" the camels of Her Majesty's Mail and used them for the conveyance of his own kit. But in spite of all difficulties, Mr. Coffey was able to show that the working of the Camel Train for the first six months had resulted in a profit to Government of eighteen hundred rupees.

END OF THE SIND STAMPS

But the days of Sind's leadership in postal matters were drawing to a close. The enactment of the Post Offices Act led to the appointment of a Director General of Post Offices in India and the Postmasters General of Bombay and Madras were placed under him. It was not long before the independence of the Post Office in Sind, to which the Government of Bombay had somewhat reluctantly consented, was discovered and resented. The new Director General insisted on dealing with Sind through the Postmaster-General in Bombay. Frere realising that he would receive but lukewarm support from Bombay, put up only the mildest of protests, being mainly concerned that the energy and ability of his able lieutenant, Mr. Coffey, should be adequately recognised by his new masters. On the first of May, 1855, the control of the Post Office in Sind was handed over to the Postmaster-General, Bombay. This was not quite the end, for higher authorities forget some little things and take time to discover others. A year later it was realised by the Government of India that the Sind District Postage Stamps were still in general use. Somewhat peremptory orders were issued for their discontinuance, and the postage stamps which were in use in other parts of India were ordered to be introduced into Sind. And, as was said before, it now costs twice as much to send a letter from Karachi to Sukkur as it did seventy five years ago.

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